



SOUTH AFRICA POST 1994

**QUO VADIS WORKERS'
EDUCATION?**

FAKIER JESSA

“People’s democracy will only endure and be able to develop if the continuous, concrete, and genuine participation of the masses in public life is ensured. It will only endure and be able to develop if this participation is not just taken up with day-to-day political matters, but, rather, if along with these, the working masses are educated to a concrete and genuinely public spirit, public capacity for judgement, and the vivid need for participation in public life”.

György Lukács. 1947. *The Culture of People’s Democracy*

Cape Town
April 2020

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From comrade Chris Thembisile Hani

On socialism:

“The crisis of socialism cannot spell the end of history. I’m saying this because we’ve got to go back to the reasons for the emergence of the theories of scientific socialism. That is still the position in capitalist countries, we have a class which owns the means of production, and we have workers who sell their labour power. So long as the contradiction between social production and private appropriation remains, there’ll always be a case for socialism. Socialism is not about big concepts and heavy theory. Socialism is about decent shelter for those who are homeless. It is about water for those who have no safe drinking water. It is about health care; it is about a life of dignity for the old. It is about overcoming the huge divide between urban and rural areas. It is about a decent education for all our people. Socialism is about rolling back the tyranny of the market. As long as the economy is dominated by an unelected, privileged few, the case for socialism will exist.”

On government:

“The perks of a new government are not really appealing to me. Everybody, of course, would like to have a good job, a good salary, and that sort of thing. But for me, that is not the be-all of a struggle. What is important is the continuation of the struggle – and we must accept that the struggle is always continuing – under different conditions whether within parliament, or outside parliament, we shall begin to tackle the real problems of the country. And the real problems of the country are not whether one is in the cabinet, or a key minister, but what we do for social upliftment of the working masses.

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INTRODUCTION

Workers of the RSA, from their 'township-camps', from abject social and economic conditions, brought the ANC to rule. Workers of the RSA have given the party the right to assume government for more than decades. In doing so, workers have suffered joblessness, deprivation and alienation from social relations enjoyed by the ever expanding middle class, i.e. the new corporate elite parading alongside their colonialist masters.

The time has come for workers of the RSA to end their romance with the pro-capitalist ruling party and their crude and unquestioned appendage to the 'Alliance'. The time has come too, for the RSA workers to formulate and be conscious of their demands, to take upon themselves the task of bringing into being the formation of the Working Class Party of South Africa. Workers cannot afford to be side tracked by the impoverished socialist rhetoric and ideology of the ANC-SACP-COSATU-WASP varieties. For the workers of the RSA it must be back to basics, back to school! There is but one way for workers to assume an equal place in society, in the economy and in leadership. It is through active and committed participation in a mass-based continuous socialist education programme; a means to know the socialist path; a means to dispel confusion, confounding and ignorance; to rise from backwardness in order to assume their rightful place in the RSA economy; a means to shared equity in the fruit the country bears. The time has come for the workers of the RSA to know, to trust and to elect representatives from within their own ranks; to shape their own manifestos and demands. Only when workers are on a steady path to solidifying their political consciousness to new and higher levels, through embracing a mass-based continuous socialist education programme, will it understand what constitutes the chains around their necks. A sharpened political

consciousness among workers must be seen as a victory over economic exploitation and social subjugation. A mass-based continuous socialist education programme is the only means through which RSA workers can protect and keep their struggle on a rock solid path, impenetrable from the onslaughts of the quasi and pretentious socialist masquerades of the SACP *et al.* This book intends to raise worker political and intellectual acumen about the present status quo and to establish a logical and unshakeable explanation of socialism, its morality and its intrinsic ideology 'from the bottom-up'. The tools that workers must apply in the quest for their demands, must be acquired by their own efforts and commitment, through a mass-based continuous socialist education programme, owned fully by that class which it is intended to emancipate; the class which must assume the political responsibility to drive a classless society, in actualising visible social and economic equity.

1994 delivered everything 'good' for money hungry leaders in the 'Alliance'; 1994 saw the arrival of the *gravy-train*. Workers witnessed the meaning of *What the Friends of the People are*: Workers witnessed gross betrayal by the formation of the 'Alliance'; an 'Alliance' shaped with big capital to alienate workers to the wrath of 'township-camps', unemployment, degradation, death and exclusion from participation in shaping their human development, political purpose and interests. Thus the RSA workers have no choice but to pick up the spear where it has fallen and to begin the struggle for the obliteration of class discrimination, for quality of life and for the ownership of the countries' resources as a means to secure a sustainable future for all citizens. Such a movement is the only justified path ahead for the RSA workers to realise its share of dignified life in the country of their birth.

An independent working class vanguard cannot afford to base its premises for party building and raising political

consciousness on unscientific assumptions, erroneously understood and expounded; undefined and poorly constructed terminologies, murky and shaky morality and values, unclear strategies and tactics, mealy-mouthed ‘senseless’ slogans and demands that are not commensurate with furthering the quality of life of workers in the RSA. Socialist ‘jargon’ and use of ‘loosely defined’ terminologies serve to confuse, confound and presents little value to the understanding of *socialist* democracy.

Workers in the RSA are currently presented with a crude ‘bastardised’ version of socialist rhetoric, which serves to weaken their political consciousness and bolster the interests of those who wish to own and manipulate economic and political power to ‘advantage’ their friends in the WTO, IMF and Citibank. The political, social and economic demands of workers can only reveal its merit once the fundamental tenets (clarity of definitions, ideology and demands) of capitalist economic structures are understood in terms of its ruthless nature. When workers themselves assume responsibility for their political education, instead of being led by corrupt and bankrupt opportunists, aspiring millionaires, sitting cosy in the ANC as worker loyalists, only then may one begin to identify the path to social and economic emancipation. *A luta continua* was glorified prior to 1994, but for RSA workers, it has become a case of *a luta traída!*

This book presents a ‘whole’ and concise approach to worker education in the RSA. It calls on RSA workers to break from idiocy, backwardness and impoverishment; to break from the ‘new’ South African capitalist breed; to break from charlatan leaders administering the socio-political contradictions embedded in the ruling party. This book speaks to workers about the need for political education literacy and comprehension; consciousness building and their ownership of a worker’s party; it speaks about rising from the dung that serves

to entrench ‘ill-humanity and blindness’ among the RSA workers that has become common. While the present leadership sits in various political entities and blow bubbles, the RSA workers must on the basis of their economic value and political strength, demand their rights to dignified housing, jobs, education, culture, quality food and proper liveability, free from discrimination, gansterism, high food prices, abuse, squalor, personal insecurities and poverty. Workers have the right to demand a socially balanced, productive and stable life, which calls for a thorough examination and open debate of chapter 2 of the Constitution (1996), which in its present form deprives workers of fundamental rights to a dignified life in the RSA.

ACRONYMS

A luta continua	The struggle continues
a luta traída	The struggle betrayed
AFL-CIO	The American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations
ANC	African National Congress
AsgiSA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
BBBEE	Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment
CAD	Coloured Affairs Department
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DA	Democratic Alliance
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DP	Democratic Party
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
EPWP	Extended Public Works Programme
EU	European Union
GATT	General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
IDP	Integrated Development Programme
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISO	International Standards Organisation
IT	Information Technology
ITC	Information Technology & Communication
JIPSA	Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition
JSE	Johannesburg Stock Exchange
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
MEC	Minister in Provincial Government
MK	Umkhonto we Siswe
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NDP	National Development Plan
NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa
OBE	Outcomes Based Education

OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAC	Pan African Congress
PEC	Provincial Executive Committee
PP	Progressive Party
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP	South Africa Communist Party
SADTU	South Africa Democratic Teachers' Union
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SARB	South African Reserve Bank
SDBIP	Service Delivery Budget Improvement Plan
SGB	School Governing Body
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UP	United Party
USA	United States of America
WASP	Workers and Socialist Party (South Africa)
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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FUNDAMENTALS



1.

WORKERS, WHAT PLACE DO YOU HOLD IN THE RSA ECONOMY?

It is irrational and short-sighted to ignore and discount the current status of workers in the economy of the RSA. In particular, it is the most important matter workers must address. Who dictates the present economic conditions for workers? Who controls economic rights to workers? Who 'assumes' the right to dictate the terms of human development fundamentals for workers in the RSA? The current status quo dictates ossified idiocy and simultaneous suppression of dynamic and transformative change. For workers, the exercise of critical thought is vitally important on matters regarding *who leads* in the onslaught on the human development elements determining workers' status in society. The RSA Constitution (1996) makes no appeal for the socio- political- educational - economic- environmental- cultural- health development *dimensions* of the working class; it excludes workers from having any role in the economy, save to fill the cheap labour pool; it stripped away workers' right to work and hence the right to assume a meaningful and dynamic place in the economy.

Without a doubt, for a complete and scientific understanding of workers' status in the RSA economy, the basic education expounded by Engels, Marx, Lenin, *et al.*, require study. Workers' education in the RSA does not exist, without which workers will spend the rest of their time tail-coating quasi socialists and other liberal-capitalist jargon mouthing opportunists, layered in COSATU, the SACP, the ANC and hence the Alliance. South Africa has become a 'services' driven economy since 1994, with great allegiance to the local and global elite and with great neglect of working class development, its infrastructure, industry and the manufacturing sector. Post 1994 RSA saw few gains for workers. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) Gear, AsgiSA, JIPSA, New Growth Path, and the recently

formulated grandiose-smokescreen called the National Development Plan (NDP), bore no fruit for workers. The unemployment rate increased phenomenally. A large section of the working class (44% - 54%) remain idle, as the Constitution (1996) does not stipulate work *as a right*. Unemployment statistics must factor in youth unemployment, foreign nationals entering the market (mainly the informal economy) and the population of men and women in domestic servitude.

Poverty has escalated since 1994. The exploitative activities of the commercial banks, cost of quality food, housing and health, middle class expansion, expansion of corruption in government and the expansion of state bureaucracy, are formidable indicators of 'the place' workers hold in the present economy; the workers' role in a 'productive and developmental' economy is not a government priority. The new RSA ruling class has clearly solidified their place on the right. Working class interests are no longer a matter for the agendas of the 'old comrades', resulting in 'zero' investment outcomes for the development of the working class and their children who had sacrificed leg and limb for the 'struggle' prior to 1994. While *lip service* is paid to a sustainable 'developmental' agenda, little political will is revealed for the dissolution of the 'township-camps', for quality public education, quality health services, infrastructure modernisation and safe, stable environments for workers in their homes and at their places of work. No consideration of the '*socio-political-educational-economic-environmental-cultural-health*' developmental dimensions of workers' daily life are prioritised, as the emphasis is placed on furthering middle class status. Empirically, the working class status is defined and entrenched by bourgeois interests, holding workers in bondage. The working class of the RSA is thus confronted by a violent, crude and oppressive onslaught from the ANC vanguard and representatives of big business, Marikana (16 Aug 2012) being just one example!

The 2014 -2021 elections proved once more that the ANC and smaller parties right of the ANC, are astute in their drive to (i) support local and global business, (ii) support

elitism, (iii) grow class discrimination, and (iv) sell their manner of government to workers as the norm, which entails *comradely* silence on all matters pertaining to corruption, pillaging, patronage and incompetence. These ever-present factors see workers' nailed at the crucifixion. It is therefore urgent that workers become politically astute through a *permanent* workers' education programme. Voting the ruling class into power does not serve any purpose with respect to the demands of workers. Ruling parties are indifferent to workers' demands, as are the 'Alliance' partners. Worker demands were dealt with by the elite only insofar as they (workers) remained 'fenced-in and restrained' by the economic and political domination of the elite class (by rubber bullets, beatings and teargas). The struggle to address and satisfy worker demands in the RSA cannot and will never be undertaken by the elitist '*friends of the people*'.

ANC party members in government jobs are paid bloated salaries to preserve and retain the ANC in power, to protect the current status quo and ruling party ethics, characterised by power and corruption at all levels of government, ethnic division, nepotism and middle class cadre deployment. The government salaries bill is an obvious drainage of resources away from more essential services and development, however, necessary for the expansion of the middle class and its service to the rapid entrenchment of financialism in the RSA. While working class 'township-camps' remain squarely intact, middle class areas are being created all over the country, characterised by American style homes, parking areas, gyms and malls, allowing for the culture of commercialism and the proliferation of a 'borrowing' and 'economic' individualist middle class.

It is necessary to view these developments in context with the gross neglect of working class education, health and housing provision, i.e. the stagnant and poor standard of daily life experienced by the working class. The 'township-camps' are war zones in which the working class cannot see prospects and social progress. The formation of the 'Alliance' did not and cannot serve to stabilise equitable economic relations for workers. The global magnates are satisfied that the SACP and

COSATU are docile appendages of the ANC, with such 'effortless' controls exercised by the ANC. The sterile leadership of the 'Alliance' stalwarts have brought no gains for the RSA workers; these perfunctory party officials misrepresent capitalism and socialism simultaneously, and therefore cannot by any measure claim to represent working class interests, as revealed since 1994. Let's take but one example! Did they mobilise workers to the call for the right to work? Shall we continue? Simple reference to their affiliation, actions and rhetoric will clearly *not* dissuade them in any way. These are the '*friends of the people*'. These leaders are vacillators and given the first opportunity, will flit between parties for the sake of holding on to political power, leadership, control and careerism. By entering the 'Alliance' they have chosen to support capitalism and get paid for their service! How many masters do they therefore serve? Can workers in the RSA afford to **trust** them? Does a basis for such trust exist?

The continued existence of the 'Alliance' is an indicator of the political backwardness of the working class in so far as it is not represented by its own political party and independent movement. Only a politically backward working class can give their vote to a party who, historically, have not served their interests. The RSA state, as of 1994, lured RSA citizens into supporting a fragmented and intrinsically selfish government, manifesting characteristics of power, factions, control, leadership by party loyalty rather than reason and closing ranks on criticism of them in the name of democracy. Behind the curtains, state officials flourish financially, drinking from the wells of capitalist stocks, shares, 'millionaire-ism' and corruption. Again! They cannot serve two masters, namely capitalists and workers! That would be sheer contradiction! One cannot be a Christian and a Muslim at the same time! One cannot be a lion and a pony at the same time, nor can one be capitalist and a worker at the same time. Since all worker representatives were swallowed by 'government' after 1994, workers should be happy to be rid of these charlatans. Workers must learn a worthy lesson; that they are free to choose

representatives from within their own ranks to lead and to hold *them* accountable!

South Africa's current and spontaneous community protests (since 1994), are not located in the wealthy quarters of the country, where the delivery of basic services (water, sanitation, schooling, safety, health and housing) are rendered effortlessly. Privatisation is supported and stimulated in the interest of the elite. So called 'black' entrepreneurs, emerged as 'overnight millionaires'. Opportunities in education, employment and 'upward' job mobility stimulated upper and middle class growth. Workers remained excluded in post 1994 South Africa and continue to live their lives in abject poverty!

Workers in the RSA must as a matter of urgency embark on a programme of *permanent* political and economic education. Their 'education' cannot be left in the hands of 'state' officials in the pay of the capitalist 'Alliance'. Such a programme should (i) be owned by workers, (ii) designed to raise working class consciousness and (iii) spearhead the formulation of the working class party. A party cannot be built on idiocy and flimsy rhetoric. A party is built on scientific fundamentals and a solid programme of demands. This task is made extremely difficult by the fact that presently, there *is no united* vanguard of the working class in the RSA. Workers in the RSA are leaderless and divided. The distinction must be made between trade unionism (capitalist bargaining of wages) and workers' political party building and tasks. The mixing and confounding of these structures will be catastrophic! Trade unionism relates to legality, authority and 'democracy' in the industry and workplace. The workers' political party must acquire (win) full and equitable participation in governing South Africa. This demand is catalytic in satisfying worker demands in respect of housing, schools, employment, socio-economic progress etc. as well as non-tangible demands such as safe, secure, pleasant living environments, quality liveability, wellbeing and social progress. This can only happen when the workers of South Africa are 'ready' to engage in an *independent* and *sustained* worker political education programme.

While a link between the political and the economic domains of worker life is natural, the distinction between the objectives and socio-economic demands of workers in the trade union and the political party, must be made distinct. Trade union demands cannot be conflated with workers' political party ideology and objectives, as the *raison d'être* thereof is distinctly different and independent of each other. Many whom profess to lead the working class are consumed with ulterior motives, self-posturing and self-aggrandisement, a valueless 'infantilism'. There are 'socialist-academics' of all shades of schooling, opinions and understanding, among them masquerading opportunists and 'control-mongers', resulting in a fragmented and 'elitist' network of quasi 'socialists'; the vanguard for holding worker movements in check! They will oppose worker demands with gust and fury, as is in their nature to do. The acid test in opposing this reactionary force is whether the ***right to work*** and the ***right to dignified housing*** will be won by the organised workers of the RSA.

It is important that 'scientific socialism' receives a proper place in a mass-based continuous socialist education programme in order to prevent and eradicate working class political backwardness in the RSA. The betrayal of the working class by the ANC vanguard (and other political entities) is best left as fodder for historians. Workers must formulate their political agenda without 'intrusion' and 'infiltration' from politico fakes and charlatans.

Government officials have accumulated wealth and through clever brokerage and patronage, have made substantial investments in farms, mines, oil, arms and industry. Any announcement of large scale corruption is dismissed. A costly *Information Bill* that offered no benefit or value to the RSA society, points to the devastatingly high degree of wastage of scarce resources. Without any strategy in place to dismantle 'township-camps', the primary symbol of the Apartheid era, ministers (and state officials) smugly moved to affluent areas and hence sent their children to 'colonial-private' - liberal schools, inducing an acceptance of the (i) capitalist way of life,

(ii) working class oppression and destitution and (iii) fragmented and unequal social relations. They even refined the tone of their voice in the process! They enter the 'township-camps' when there is a need to add benefit to their positions of power, i.e. to collect votes for their continued existence in lucrative government jobs. In all instances, they exude allegiance to capitalism and the upper middle class lifestyle, at expense of continued working class subjugation.

RSA legislation, regulations and policies serve the upper strata of the society. The BBBEE Act (2003), Employment Equity Act (1998) and the affirmative action policy regulations imported from the USA, favours middle class growth, leaving workers to aspire to inclusion. Racism and favouritism therefore becomes a norm. Workers must replace racial consciousness with international worker consciousness or sink with notions of localisation and distantiation from their international counterparts. Race and ethnicity debates must not tarnish and obscure worker aspirations. A racially divided working class has no value, as should be learnt from a political education programme formulated by workers themselves.

RSA legislation, regulations and policies are designed to keep the ANC government in power and workers solidly in their 'locations', mentally and physically. RSA legislation, regulations and policies do not diminish the impact of criminality, ill-conceived safety and security, social decay imbued with rape and abuse, nor does it inhibit the stunting of socio-political-educational-economic-environmental-cultural and health growth. The ANC embraces power, vested leadership in an elite group and exercises control through screening and patronage, using state apparatus and mechanisms such as the police and the army against the continuous working class uprisings (Marikana, Bekkersdal, Boitumelong) for a dignified and quality standard of life. The economy of the country is thus geared to satisfy a particular class interest and the state apparatus serves to preserve current socio-economic relations. In key speeches made by Comrade Nelson Mandela, he did not focus on working class priorities; he was in fact

addressing the ‘elite’ of South Africa and the world. Workers ‘assumed’, incorrectly, that they were going to be ‘looked after’. Comrade Nelson Mandela addressed “all” classes, comrades and friends, but never specifically the working class. The ANC’s class position must be made crystal clear to workers. A heightened political consciousness in this regard would be necessary for workers to acquire, in order to break with the ANC. Examples of Comrade Nelson Mandela’s opening lines to his audiences are: “comrades” and “people” referring to ‘all’ classes in which the middle and elite classes held dominance, thus meandering neatly away from direct dialogue with workers. One can conclude that Comrade Nelson Mandela never did address the workers’ plight in these instances! The following opening lines captures his targeted audience succinctly; the word ‘workers’ seem to have vanished;

- At the Rally in Durban 25 Feb 1990: *“Friends, comrades and the people of Natal”*;
- At the famous Cape Town 9 May 1994 speech from The City Hall balcony: *“Mr Master of ceremonies, Your Excellencies, Members of the Diplomatic Corps, My fellow South Africans”*;
- 10 May 1994, Pretoria: *“You’re Majesties, Your Highnesses, Distinguished Guests, Comrades and Friends”*;
- Opening Address: President Nelson Mandela; President’s Budget Debate. Cape Town, 18 August 1994: *“Madame Speaker and Deputy Speaker, President of the Senate and Deputy President, Deputy Presidents, Distinguished members of parliament, Esteemed guests, Comrades Ladies and Gentlemen”*.

Alas, without disrespect to our comrade, Nelson Mandela did not put workers first. He was not by any means a socialist. At the 50th National Conference of the ANC (Dec 1997) Comrade Nelson Mandela made meagre, if no attempt at all, to address

the issues of workers. His accountability and focus was with the leadership of the business community, academics and elite. The 'struggle' was against Apartheid; not about workers! These too, workers will realise only when their political consciousness has been sharpened. Votes for ruling party domination are owned and issued by the working class, freely. Given the current skewed socio-economic relations in the RSA, the elite seems highly satisfied with their social status. However, in building a working class party, working class consciousness, adopting a workers' programme and embarking upon a mass-based continuous socialist education programme, workers set the tone for the adoption of their demands. Workers' demands would logically be formulated through their own deliberation.

Workers have a duty to expel *myths* that were formulated by capitalists and bygone colonialists, such as the impossibility of equal and classless society, zero unemployment, eradication of 'township-camps', ending poverty and sharing wealth. It is a *myth* held by the current ruling party that 'non-investment' in the working class will sustain civil society. It is a *myth* held by capitalists that wealth and resources belong to them exclusively. Such myths are entrenched in colonialist avarice, through the adoption of violent and oppressive means. Workers have the political responsibility to entrench democratic relations, equity in civil society and social morality, which capitalists have no desire to adopt owing to their class position.

Political parties are products of their past and present class ideologies, historical purpose and the choice they exercise to preserve social systems that respond to their individualistic interests; so evolves the nature and characteristics of the party. This axiom applies to the parties presently seated in the RSA parliament. A workers' party is driven by rights to work, classless society and collectivisation, i.e. sharing. Capitalists are driven by individualism, wealth accumulation, duplicitous nationalism, class superiority, material interests, selfishness and no regard for workers' physical labour. A workers' education process is rendered worthless if the content is based on a set of unscientific assumptions which at a later more critical time,

cannot be realised. An example of such an assumption lies in the notion that the ANC have *socialist* attributes and would therefore represent workers' interests; workers have for too long been guilty of this error of thought, i.e. by the assumption that capitalists will (some day in the future) represent workers!

The parties in Parliament, share the same values. These parties represent big capital. They exploit workers and will not concede to the 'right to work' and the right to housing. They are corrupt and are set on preserving those values in government. They parade at the opening of parliament in classical colonial style! Is it not possible that a workers' party can set the tone for a peoples' assembly without the waste and fanfare displayed by the current politicians? Capitalism commands a 'fragmented social system', one that is divided by class, bruised, heavily charged with a tattered morality which dictates exploitation, economic individualism and fragile socio-economic relations, where the wealthy class owns all the resources. Educating and empowering workers is not in their interest. By contrast, in socialist society, workers assume political power for the social integration of that society; fragmentation is replaced with the development of 'classless' society and democratic-collectivist ideals in the interests of the greater good for that society, utilising resources in the interest of the collective. In fragmented society, resources are used to promote the wellbeing of small sections of the society at the expense of the majority, i.e. the workers. The ANC's slogan of a 'better life for all' clearly means 'a better life for the middle class'. Workers must engage around the slogan of 'classless' society, which is empirically clear in respect of the division of resources in the interest of the entire population. Political education is thus a primary factor in social revolution and social reconstruction, without which there can be no progress.

The vehicle for building working class consciousness, understanding and application of ideological demands, deliberation and practices, are found in the mass-based permanent socialist education programme driven by workers. Given the levels of education among workers, the strength of

tribalist ideology regarding the submissiveness of subjects and the undoing of errors made by previous and current dominant 'socialist' charlatans and schools of thought, a workers' education programme remain highly important and non-negotiable. The mass-based continuous socialist education programme must synchronise with quality general education and hence gear learning to every aspect of sustaining the socio-political- educational- economic- environment- cultural- safety- health and technical developmental aspects of society. Only an open, free and robust education system, socially and economically responsible for social progress, will sustain workers' demands for social reconstruction.

The futility and pointlessness of wealth accumulation, personal greed, discrimination and individualism, crime and corruption, are colonialist and capitalist hall-marks; issues such as these must find solution by workers in a mass-based permanent socialist education programme, owned and controlled by workers themselves.

The forgone chapter answers the question posed by the title, 'Workers, what place do you hold in the RSA economy? The answer is clear. Structurally, functionally and systemically, no place exists for workers in the present economy, save that workers are a cheap labour force, undeserving of a dignified life. Hence for workers, chapter 2 of the Constitution (1996) is meaningless and hence the economy of the RSA continues on a skew path, lacking dynamism, innovation and inclusion.

*Further reading: What the 'Friends of the People Are' and How They Fight the Social-Democrats. V I Lenin. 1894.

2.

WORKERS' OWNERSHIP OF ECONOMIC POWER

What is to be done by workers to establish social, political and economic equity, with regard to power, ownership and developmental benefit in classless society? Should equity be gained by revolutionary means and violent overthrow of the elites and middle class? Or would classless society be achieved through evolutionary revisionism, i.e. a slow, gradual process, with permission obtained from the ruling elite? While the latter may seem polite, it certainly is wishful thinking! For the working class to emerge victorious from their perpetual subjugation, in terms of judicial, administrative and legislative bondage, they will have to muster their strength, commitment, courage and resilience against a capitalist offensive.

A history of the betrayal of working class struggles through the years can easily be studied. Demands made by workers historically, passed smoothly from ownership by the masses to ownership by greedy capitalists. Workers have become the victims in their own struggles, oppressed by leaders who assumed 'central power' and totalitarian rule. Totalitarian rule equates with authority without limit, repression in all forms of social, economic and political life. Bureaucracy, patriarchy, authoritarianism and plutocracy keeps workers out of the realm of assuming state power to any degree, making democratic rule redundant. The result of the forgone is poverty, degradation, social and economic discrimination, decline and depravation of quality schooling from birth to adult life.

It is for the reasons outlined above that as a first step, a permanent socialist education programme must be pursued by workers of the RSA. Such an education programme must

deliberate on bringing into being (i) the workers' party of the RSA and (ii) a classless and 'open' society for all. Naturally workers must outline their 'collective' demands and strategic objectives for dignified liveability, which incorporates *quality* housing, food, environment, amenities and universal general education for children and youths. Equipped with such a fundamental toolbox, the focus must be placed on the socio-political-educational-economic-environmental-health and cultural spectrum of worker development in the RSA.

Of course, opportunists of all types will surface. The Stalin, Maoist, Pol Pot and Pinochet reign of terror are a few examples of terror unleashed on workers and targeted groups, conducted in the name of communism: Unscientific, personal and 'skewed' ideologies, has left workers poor and oppressed. In the RSA, workers made colossal sacrifices for the ANC. Today, in the name of democracy, they are shot upon, tear-gassed and left to rot jobless and uneducated in 'township-camps'. The fragile gains workers made through trade union actions, amounted to nothing, relative to the worker demands listed on the cover of this book.

Let's turn briefly to the prevailing topic of *nationalisation*, presumably in the interest of workers. What exactly is meant by the RSA 'leaders' when they refer to *nationalisation*? 'Nationalism' could take the form of (i) 'white' or 'black' state capitalism or totalitarianism of the Idi Amin tradition, (ii) a 'Zuma' type plutocracy and oligarchy, dominated by reckless corruption or (iii) Mbeki type 'Africanist' social and economic policy domination, non-universal in nature and character, building a 'black' buffer middle class at the expense of workers' livelihood! In all of these 'traditions', the working class, irrespective of race, are oppressed and compelled to live in degradation and poverty. Nationalisation on the other

hand, could be control of a country, state resources, corporations or industry, where the former owners of the entity *may or may not* be compensated for their efforts expended. In consideration of nationalism and nationalisation (which negates internationalism), minorities dictate to the majority, to drive the most bizarre retrogressive political and economic agenda.

Furthermore, nationalisation is a pro capitalist economic model, which utilises state control of key productive entities, with some trade and some exchange activities alongside private-capitalist production and trade; the state decides how civil society will benefit from the proceeds (if at all). Bourgeois economic strength remains intact, while workers are exploited; the entire spectrum of the workers' socio-political- educational-economic-environmental-cultural-health needs and demands are brought to collapse. Corruption, nepotism and patronage shape the new order. Nationalism is therefore a capitalist strategy to prevent working class development.

In addition, state-capitalism displays similar characteristics. The USA has a purely capitalist government and employs state capitalist strategies for wealth generation; China, emerging and retaining the communist-oppressive epoch, employs state-capitalism aggressively. South Africa could adopt state-capitalist strategies with the nationalisation of 'state' assets (which requires explicit definition); ultimately worker interests and their political-socio-economic demands are not held 'as primary' in the present economic climate as the interests of the controlling bourgeois, sometimes under a 'socialist' banner, is viewed as paramount. The links between nationalisation and state-capitalism need to be addressed by an independent worker's party. Understandably, this argument is contextualised in the present 'mixed' economy, as workers are

not 'ready' to assume state power, given the current strategic weaknesses in worker organisations and worker consciousness.

Hence socialism means complete, equitable and absolute control of productive-economic activities by the state in the interest of the developmental dimensions of all citizens.

Full democratic rule implies complete and utter representation of all citizens as found practiced in 'open system' societies. By implication, class, socio-political-economic, racial, gender, age and cultural discrimination cease to exist.

What then does the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) mean when they call for the nationalisation (undefined and least understood) of 'state' assets? While the workers are presently leaderless, party-less and lacking in political education, it is reckless and idiotic to assume that workers in the RSA have the capability to participate, on any equitable bases in the EFF's concoction for the RSA economy. For the past three decades, workers were not engaged in political education programmes at all. Unions and political parties have adopted a 'top-down' agenda for workers. The questions surrounding the levels of class and revolutionary consciousness within the working class persists, hence their 'demands' are cloudy and unformulated. Yet the EFF, with tendencies bordering 'black' nationalism, assume the right to dictate terms regarding the *nationalisation* of state 'assets'! Unions, workers' organisations, Marxist tendencies, academics and activists in the AFL-CIO have all been silent on fundamental workers' demands for (i) the 'right to work', (ii) the right to housing and (iii) the need for political education. The weakness residing in worker political education stands in direct relationship with their inability to formulate independent decisions affecting their socio-economic and personal progress in the RSA. This must change. The RSA working class must acquire a high level of

political and revolutionary consciousness in order to realise their collective strength; to rise from their current backwardness in order to assume political power.

Given the prevailing vulnerability of workers in the RSA, charlatans lie in wait to assume leadership roles in the workers' struggle. The worker's permanent education programme is paramount and calls for immediate commencement thereof.

While workers are banished to 'township-camps' out of sight of the elite, the economy relies on their cheap labour; workers are alienated from the main economy, while the capitalist class continues to rely on the 'financial' (expanding middle class) sector for its profits. In the long term this economic arrangement will not succeed given the strengthening of worker class consciousness and the establishment of a working class party.

Negotiation with capitalists will not bring about a classless society. Negotiation (even consensus) confounds capitalist and socialist demands ... very much like trying to mix oil and water; trade unions are not vehicles for the emancipation of workers from capitalist selfishness and economic ownership; trade unions cannot win workers' their social, economic and political demands, nor can trade unions steer a course towards a qualitatively and quantitatively different society, one that is not discriminatory nor oppressive. Trade unions do not empower workers; they simply work within the confines of the capitalist legislation and authority which stands to preserve the status quo for capitalist bosses, the owners of the resources, land and capital.

A working class party must construct its short and long-term agenda according to its demands and employ the best means available to them for the construction of new socio-

economic arrangements in mitigation of their present living conditions, education, health, housing and work; similarly, in relation to quality of life and standards for productive life workers need to be politically astute. Workers must ensure growth and development in all aspects of their socio- political- educational- economic- environmental -cultural- health and technological dimensions of daily life, thereby breaking with their present status quo, characterised by poverty, social deprivation, oppression and intellectual backwardness, owing to the inferior education designed for the working class in the RSA. *Without schooling in the rudiments of science and mathematics, chemistry and biology, geography, history, and languages, the political education of the working class will not mature with any 'scientific' quality and sharpness.*

Socialism as a science, must have practicality and applicability, born out of dialectical and historical materialist understanding, interpretation and conviction for social solutions in the interest of workers primarily and the population in general. In respect of acquiring insight into dialectics, waging ideological battles and taking lessons from history (such as the work of D Taylor on colonialism), it is important for workers to embark on reading and discussion programmes to understand Marxist underpinnings and to draw lessons from working class revolutions. Understanding points of principle, revolutionary morality, ethics, strategic value and purpose Marxist works present, is key to workers' intellectual development.

Dictatorial teachings and propagandistic 'shovelling' of 'lessons' from warped classicists who peddle 'worker education', is the business of autocrats in the making. Charlatans such as these will balk when workers themselves assume leadership positions. Charlatans will not have the will and interest to lead workers to higher levels of political

consciousness since under that skin, they are ‘capitalist ideologues’, which they embrace mendaciously.

Capitalism succeed in ‘brainwashing’ citizens into believing that the socio-economic relations established under its domination, is the norm. The RSA working class stands at the threshold of learning that socialist theory and practice principally, will equip them with the means by which to challenge capitalist ideology. Capitalism provides the understanding required by workers to ensure the success of their socialist programmes. Workers must ‘learn’ how the various ‘shades of socialism’ manifest itself; how belief or following one ‘shade’ of socialism can set workers struggle back by decades; how proponents of socialism interpret ‘socialism’; how they cloud terms and definitions to solidify confusion; ‘skewed’ political education can lead to organisational fracture.

Remnants of worker education programmes in South Africa misplace emphasis, use terminologies incorrectly and proceed without a basis in scientific socialism, an example of which is the Namibian tendency to ‘fixate’ on teaching ‘critical thinking’ at the expense of growing depth in the understanding of Marxism as a science. Workers must acquire the freedom to be critical, to remain goal directed, clear on demands and objectives while preserving the workers’ struggle from capitalist interference by middle class foot soldiers. The Industry 4.0 and 5.0 technological revolutions allow for a free distribution of literature and messaging; makes worker education programmes available, while drawing local and international actors closer. The internet may be regarded as an ‘impartial’ source of information; a centric point of learning about individualism, collectivism, political organisation, social progress, lessons from history, international standards of life, etcetera, is literally at ones’ fingertips. Only when a heightened political consciousness

is achieved by workers, will they be ready to demand political-economic power by whatever morally sound means they choose.

Only institutionalised classless society can address the pointlessness of capitalist greed, i.e. the accumulation of excessive wealth at the expense of the impoverished majority. The global accumulation of excessive wealth by a few, serves to entrench the capitalist system, make a mockery of collectivism and repels the rights of workers to quality forms of living. Therefore, to progress materially and intellectually, RSA workers must (i) cease to vote capitalists into power, (ii) cease to place their trust in the Alliance, (iii) embark on an independent, permanent worker driven political education programme, (iv) build an independent working class party with their independently formulated programme, and (v) set forth their short and long-term demands in crystal clear manner. It is well known globally, that workers should not rely on the teaching of socialist science by ‘teachers’ with a mixed and duplicitous agenda. The contents and persuasions of political education should be vigorously questioned by rank and file workers. Workers should read collectively, *form their own opinions* and discuss their understanding in reading groups, relative to the development of their political ‘class’ consciousness and relative to their collective demands.

3.

PAST AND PRESENT REGIMES: WHAT'S DIFFERENT FOR WORKERS IN THE RSA?

The purpose of this chapter is to stimulate awareness of working class consciousness growth among the citizens of the RSA. The socio-political-educational-economic-cultural –environmental-health components of human development appear as a formula by which one may calculate the growth and development of RSA workers as influenced by their physical environment, work conditions and education, among others. Workers have basic and advanced expectations in respect of each one of these ‘life’ components (dimensions). These ‘life’ components are measurable in terms of qualitative (non-material) and quantitative (material) progress. Results will show that the conditions of workers during the pre and post 1994 regimes had little or no impact on workers’ intellectual, physical and vocational progress. Are workers poorer or have their conditions improved?

In terms of their human development components, the status quo of workers did not change at all. While workers sacrificed life and limb to enrich both regimes, the net benefit accruing to them was nil. Ruthless suppression by the Apartheid state kept workers in a state of backwardness. Post 1994, the expansion of the middle class took prominence over the advancement of workers. The state addressed worker issues through a concoction of empty phraseology. The political education of workers during Apartheid was labelled treason. The assumed ‘working class organs’, namely, ANC, COSATU, SACP, have since 1994 been trapped in capitalist relations locally and internationally. It is the results that speaks loudly. The ‘Alliance’ serves the ANC and hence big capital. Workers

are restrained in a 'democratic trap'; 'democracy', more accurately defined as 'state bureaucracy infused with autocracy, tribalism and patriarchy' in this instance. These institutions made certain that the political education of workers remained a 'non-issue'. Political education, if any, has been rubbished by the 'Alliance' leaders, now agents for capital, instrumental in setting back the workers struggle by centuries. Allow the facts to speak for itself.

While 1994 was perceived as the fulcrum of change, it however, was the beginning of 'black' middle class growth and development. The ANC's support for imperialism was instant and without restraint. For the middle class and the elite, it brought a new happiness and economic gain; for workers, an illusory 'freedom'. With Comrade Chris Hani out of the way (1993), 'legitimacy' and mediocrities were restored and the struggle was finally over, more like *A luta traída!*

The US and the UK could now sleep easy, the masters of imperialism and the owners of the JSE. The ANC embraced the Clintons and quickly forgot its 'liberation' morality. From the *Freedom Charter* to liberal-capital constitutionalism, spiced with privatisation and followed by rampant *gravy train* cadre-deployment, patronage, nepotism and corruption. The basic rights for all workers in South Africa, the right to work and the right to housing, were deliberately omitted from the Constitution (1996), in the name of natural phenomena and normatives.

The RSA workers can no longer give their support to the ANC or any other party that cries woeful 'opposition' to workers' demands. Workers must share their political commitment with their own party, their elected vanguard. When that seed is properly planted and nurtured it will grow. The RSA workers require a leap in order to denounce the

‘Alliance’, an instrument of fraud and deception; an instrument that strips away worker autonomy, power and control over their own destinies. Workers in the RSA must measure what gains were made by them in terms of their class struggle, over the last 28 years.

Racism, tribalism, patriarchy, class division, bureaucracy and aspirations to join the middle class are shackles which deter workers from independent struggle. The state manipulates these ‘ploys’ to the detriment of any advancement workers make. It was the working class that manned Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and fought in street battles, while the ‘leadership’ waited in the wings to wrench power and control from workers. How quickly the ‘Alliance’ was conceived and legitimised! The ANC’s rallying call for a “better life for all” and “rainbow nation” are slogans as deceptive as their authors could construe. But what were the gains workers won from the present regime since 1994? The standards of every aspect of worker life in the RSA post 1994, had declined, not improved!

Past and present regimes share an unaltered ‘colonialist’ parliamentary system; the huge waste of resources on the opening of parliament continues; a foolish extravaganza void of social value; a clear indication that *the system* of government had not changed; whatever is the significance and meaning of the chalice to the working class? Workers remain excluded from parliament; only the elite and intelligentsia sit to talk and dine. The history of RSA colonialism is clear. Alas to *a luta continua*; welcome *a luta traída*!

Workers are choked off from the main economy owned and enjoyed by the elite and the expanding middle class, through confinement to the factories, mines, farms, construction sites, ‘township-camps’, shacks, meagre education riddled with inefficiencies, gansterism, abuse, ill safety and

security, 'survival wages', malnutrition, wretched environments, squalor, joblessness and deprived in each one of the human development dimensions mentioned earlier. This is the reality. Protest is met with rubber bullets, real bullets, death and force, not dialogue, nor consensus, nor comradeship!

These are the means employed by the state to keep workers politically backward; politically shackled. It is only when workers make empirical comparisons between the old apartheid regime and the current ruling elite that stark realities come to light. Moreover, while the present regulatory framework dispelled the *apartheid* clauses, it was simply replaced with more efficient and effective 'liberal sounding' clauses that serves (to the present time) to keep the elite in power, workers in the 'township-camps' and the money mongers content.

Given these facts, one may conclude that the state will remain intransigent regarding workers' demands, supported wholly by a sterile 'Alliance', useless to workers' wellbeing! Only an independent and organised working class can smash this arrangement. In closing, while the RSA elite enjoys 'private schooling' for their children, working class children are subjected to deprivation, inferior education, poverty and abuse.

4.

POLITICAL PRINCIPLES UNDER THE MICROSCOPE

Political principles are not unrelated constructs; political principles stand in direct relationship with political ideology, theoretical premises, precedents and above all, historical predispositions. The ANC, since its inception, encouraged the belief in an assumption made by workers that the party represented their interests. Strong indicators held that the ANC, as the 'self-proclaimed' and natural vanguard at the helm of the workers' struggle, would secure their rights and demands. Since the Apartheid regime was the villain and the ANC, among other representations, represented the workers' vanguard, all oppressed classes and some franchised individuals in the RSA and abroad, the struggle for the emancipation of the working class was a 'toggle switch' mess. The rhetoric and terminology of the ANC was a compounded hybrid of leftist and rightist ideologies. Middle class demands and worker demands were hellishly confounded in the freedom charter, which in 1996 gave sway to the RSA Constitution. The Constitution itself was a middle class formulation, where the word 'access' replaced the word 'right' in more than one instance. As the ANC progressed as the government of South Africa, its middle class nature assumed greater prominence.

If the ANC and 'Alliance' cadres *did not* aspire to capitalist and middle class values in the past, the results would have been different in 1994. But because, one may conclude, they *have always* (prior to 1994) aspired to capitalist and middle class values, the results are what we see today, a prevalence for middle class liberalism and working class subjugation of a crafty kind. The post 1994 era revealed the middle class nature of the

ANC, in the terminology of the ANC, more accurately, the 'black' middle class.

One may also wonder why workers were and are not *en masse* in the camp of the SACP? Why did the SACP enter into *Alliance* with the ANC? And the trade unions as well; also prone to leftist-Marxist rhetoric! Not as a political party, but a trade union? The ganging up of these entities had to have some purpose - was it to strengthen the 'rightist' front against the workers, or to confound their demands? While their relationship had some ups and down, their tenacity for unity proved impermeable. Was it greed for 'positions' coupled with 'mistrust' of each other? Why does such a gross form of opportunism still persist today? The only assumption could be 'unity against workers'. If this assumption is correct, then the Alliance is the biggest (and long term) threat to RSA worker organisation. But 28 years after 1994, workers must objectively draw the line between their position then and now, so that emphasis may be placed on their future! The time has come for workers to assert their independence from the 'Alliance' and hence, the ruling party; to dispel the myth that the Alliance will someday support them; because their interests are widely different, workers do not have direct representation in the Alliance! Workers remain on 'stand by' as cannon fodder to lend their 'presence' at mass rallies. And that's about all!

The higher the political consciousness of workers, the more estranged they will be from the 'Alliance' and the more they will be compelled to build a Workers Party of South Africa. There is not a single person in the 'Alliance', or any appendage of the 'Alliance' that exhibits worker interests, in consciousness or in rhetoric. Careerism is rife in the Alliance!

Meaningless and directionless 'socialist' rhetoric in present day RSA has become tools used by the ruling party and

‘Alliance’ partners for masquerading; leaving the working class in a comatose state. Their aim is to weaken and or dismiss their opponents and those they label quasi ‘comrades’.

The central tendency within the Alliance remains elitist, economistic, internally focused, conservative and pro-capitalist; they observed a deadly silence during the Zuma years of pilfering. Their level of debate is infantile, abrasive and dishonest, prone to spin doctoring. Any mention of Marxism, Leninism or Trotskyism at ‘Alliance’ level, is met with ridicule and babble. Deliberative dialogue is therefore not possible with the ‘Alliance’ as there is a huge deficit in their knowledge of socialist dialectics and confounding of objectives.

The ‘MDM therefore (i) was led by the middle class, intelligentsia and ecclesiastes, (ii) utilised socialist rhetoric to dupe workers, (iii) supported a ‘black’ middle class, posing as a workers’ vanguard, (vi) opposed ‘socialist’ independent movements, (v) was bourgeois democratic, pro capitalist, and pro imperialist. The ANC embraced the MDM. In post 1994 South Africa, N Mandela, T Manuel, Bishop D Tutu, *et al.* became instant millionaires and they loved it! These ‘comrades’ and others in their clique, have become wealthy, reactionary and comfortable.

The MDM ecclesiastes were then and are now the supporters of bourgeois respectability and conservatism, colonialist for that matter, as the role of the church in South Africa was historically oppressive (see the writing of Nosipho Majeke / Dora Taylor). The support for the church in the ‘township-camps’ is profound. What really was the mission of the ecclesiastes during the struggle years? In retrospect, what can be said? The role of ecclesiastes in protecting capitalist relations is well known historically. In post 1994 RSA, the MDM ecclesiastes preferred to be silent on many burning issues

affecting workers and the broader society, particularly on the importance of work and housing, both fundamental economic bases. Yet, from a macro-perspective, the 'political-activist' facade of the ecclesiastes were puzzling; where did they stand? What we perceived was not really what was! People accorded a mythical trust and importance to them, without scientific bases! There was fait accompli acceptance among them for the generation of a 'black' middle class, supposedly an unavoidable new 'norm'. Saying that the ecclesiastes were revolutionaries would be incorrect; unless one could be a revolutionary for a short while, and something else the next day!

1994 heralded in a 'scramble' for power, position and recognition; the ANC 'leaders', and other opportunistic 'hangers on', vied for cadre deployment, or was it nepotism? Workers were naturally excluded. "The struggle is over" said a comrade, as she received her diplomatic job. The middle class was on the road to wealth and comfort.

Comrades were drawn into seats of power. Principles of honesty, integrity and openness were simply taboo (uncalled for) vis-a-vis worker issues. The principles associated with inward focus, hierarchy, secrecy, control and power were draw cards. Reactionary and counter-revolutionary members of the middle class in parties and organisations that previously had opposed the MDM were openly invited to join the ANC and were offered leadership positions by Comrade Nelson Mandela. 1994 heralded in a period of duplicity, betrayal, reaction and reversion to middle class conservatism, rhetoric and political morality. The workers of South Africa paid (and continues to pay) a huge price for their 'loyal support' to the ANC. The ANC merged with the ruling elite, shed their 'revolutionary cloaks' and settled in with the previous enemy. Organisations such as the New Unity Movement (previously the NEUM, a

‘colouredist’ middle class intelligentsia) who had historically stood in opposition to ANC principles and who were prone to socialist rhetoric, sprung hastily into the positions brokered to them by the ANC. They referred to themselves as ‘*entryists*’ (policy or practice of members of a particular political group joining an existing political party with the intention of changing its principles and policies, instead of forming a new party). Similarly, National Party members and PAC members joined the ANC. Thus the ANC refashioned itself as a ‘free for all middle class intelligentsia’ organisation. Clearly the ANC was having a brilliant metamorphosis with, among others, UK and USA blessings.

Now, what was to be done with the ‘loyal’ workers? The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was quickly halted because workers were expressing their demands and interests. *The Freedom Charter* was a middle class ‘manifesto’ as it bore no fundamental tenets for a working class programme. Its demands for the ‘people’ were simply demands of the middle class prior to 1994; which meant unsurprisingly, that there was no need for *The Freedom Charter* in the post 1994 era. Even Nobel prizes were bestowed on South African leaders.

The trade unions, who joined COSATU, lost their political independence to the ruling party. SADTU dressed itself in socialist banners and badges. Naturally, the SACP too held on to its socialist rhetoric, banners and badges. But they too were in the pro-capitalist Alliance! Sadtu’s website spells out its duplicity. Can one be a socialist in a capitalist Alliance? The Alliance is a pot pourri of political shades; an unspecified brand, a hybrid specific to the ANC. SADTU ‘socialist’ arm - ‘political education’ website (blog) is a case in point.

The 'Alliance' is characterised by opportunism, corruption, bureaucracy, control, autocracy, authoritarianism, inadequacies, incompetence and overwhelming support for the capitalist state. One cannot therefore be a socialist and a capitalist simultaneously, similarly, a cat cannot be a lion!

The ruling party has pinned their dreams on the assumption that the working class will believe forever that '*democracy*' will bring '*a better life for all*'. So far the slogan has served the ANC for two decades and more. An empirical and political analysis of these slogans will reveal that it is barren and valueless vis-a-vis a socialist context and genuine worker interests. Over three decades, nothing has changed for workers!

The 'means to an end' principle brings the political morality of the 'Alliance' into question. The exploitation of a backward working class, however immoral, places the 'Alliance' in the arena of global economic configurations. South Africa is now a 'friend' to many and foe to workers at home. A governments interest in the working class should be visible in the form of workers' quality liveability, wellbeing, social progress, employment, quality and dignified housing, universal schooling, safe environments, quality, safe, dignified transport, quality food and the safety and universal schooling of children. But is it merely a question of 'basic needs' or should it be more a question of raising consciousness, improving quality of life, ridding workers of the scourge of crime and abuse and creating conditions for freedom of speech and association? The morality of workers is guided by their demands, needs and expectations. These necessary attributes of life can only be rendered by an independent workers' party in South Africa; there is no question about worker preparedness to acquire these gains.

The formulation of a workers programme and manifesto is therefore 'moral', relative to their present

conditions of daily life. In defence of working class demands, a mass-based permanent socialist education programme provides the moral means to attain the heightened consciousness and confidence to engage in the struggle for workers' demands. The principle of workers' independence and the fortification of political education are imperatives for the emergence of the Working Class Party of the RSA.

Workers must generate their independent learning material and not rely on the intelligentsia to perform this task. The choice of learning and reading must belong to worker. It is important for workers to check the integrity of the material they learn from, as one becomes a product of what one learns. It is therefore crucial to go back to basics, to learn from the past socialist struggles in respect of gaining socialist education. Workers must learn what to accept and what to reject; what ideological positions are stagnant and which are dynamic; coordination of thought, action and speech (dialectical agility) is crucial; socialist politics must rest upon tenets which will benefit the party of workers. Strategy and tactics must sync with ideology, demands and interest. The fundamentals of scientific socialism are critical in the development of socialist ideology, free of dogmatic recitation and meaningless socialist phraseology. Those who refer to themselves as socialists are probably not.

A workers' party will preserve its (i) theoretical papers, newspaper, literature, letters; (ii) ideology based on material objectives (demands) for liveability and productivity; (iii) ideology based on scientific socialism; (iv) ethics for scientific explication and deliberation (dialectics); (v) political education programme for raising worker consciousness, situation analysis, strategy and tactics; (vi) rules for membership and constitution, (vii) local level programmes and projects; and

(viii) grooming for government office, international diplomacy and policy formulation.

The 'a luta continua' principle relates to workers assuming the right and obligation to implement the principle of permanent mobilisation of support in defence of all the human development dimensions, i.e. aspects of life from which worker demands arise. Other than the mass-based 'continuous-permanent' socialist education programme, workers' demands, interests and desires are formulated from each of the socio-political-educational-economic-environmental - cultural-health and technological human development dimensions. This basic framework has been used universally to find solution to complex, intractable problems experienced by the downtrodden and exploited workers around the globe.

In the RSA, workers are mercilessly killed by police in defence of the state's obstinacy in the provision of basic services to the working class. The police and military are instruments through which the state keeps workers restrained. Workers' demands and interests for quality standards of life must be relentless. Whereas the 'township-camps' of the RSA imprison and degrade the entire human development dimension of workers, the elite and middle classes, through the support of the RSA state, enjoy an unapologetic high-quality life.

On the state's principle of crushing workers' uprisings violently: While the Constitution (1996) denies the death penalty to criminals, it condemns workers to death when they protest against inhumane and undignified living conditions in the 'township-camps' and in their work places. The Marikana massacre in 2012 will not be forgotten. Workers, in the absence of a workers' party, give the state their vote. The contradictions are clear and understandable in a crude and pitiful way. The principles outlined thus far are fundamental in overcoming

political backwardness among workers. Workers are kept in bondage according to the dictates of the capitalist class which compel them to face their primary weaknesses, which are a lack of (i) independent organisation (ii) clearly formulated demands (iii) an economic and political agenda, and (iv) an understanding of the moral tenets which *underpin* their struggle and class consciousness.

Bureaucracy serves to benefit the masters of capital. Bureaucratic systems delay and stymie the efforts of workers. Laws, by-laws, path-dependency, regulations, fragmentation, top-down policies, top-down strategies, power-distancing, limitations, compliance restrictions in hierarchy, serve to delay progress. This practice is the business of government, not development. Red tape and bureaucracy serve to preserve status quo, position, power distancing and control. Ministers and lower public officials, shelter behind bureaucratic gatekeeping secretaries, appointments to be made by email, busy schedules, conferences, lack of time for proper discussion, avoidance, restricted time for meetings and above all, 'closed' ears to new ideas and innovations concerning public development, issues, concerns, projects, programmes and report of corruption.

Workers will find holistic, open, networked, accountable, non-fragmented, integrated systems more conducive to struggle than the archaic bureaucratic colonial systems followed by the bourgeois. Systems determine types of organisational behaviour. Bureaucracy (hierarchy) is vastly different from 'peoples' representative democracy (open, transparent, rational, accountable, deliberative, dialectical); capitalist democracy is qualitatively different from socialist democracy, that must be told.

The principle of sharing: Wealth accumulation serves the purpose of creating an elite and upper class, which middle

classes and sections of the working class emulate. However, the more wealth and resources is owned by these classes, the less is owned by the working class; and thus develops unequitable socio-economic conditions. The morality to accumulate wealth and to enjoy more than what you need is a pointless bourgeois creation. This type of morality can be destroyed by the working class who will aspire to sharing, collective ownership and accumulation of wealth for public purpose. The simple principle of the diminishing marginal returns law, means that the more you have of something (a commodity), the less you will want of it. But why does the accumulation of wealth not work in this way? The answer lies in greed, self-interest, individuality, egocentrism and self-centredness to the extremes of corruption, theft, duplicity and underhandedness, i.e. the madness of excessive accumulation of wealth.

A classless society has long ago ceased to be an ideological concoction dreamt up by 'Marxists'. It is the only solution to extirpate the misery caused to people and earth by capitalist-imperialism. The demand by workers globally for a quality, high standard of life places political and social morality in the hands of the citizens. Class, race and caste discrimination should be questioned more and more as we move into the 4th and 5th industrial epochs. Evolutionary, economic and social factors favour socialism. The sub-systems supportive of capitalism has begun to crumble as more and more people globally see the futility in wealth accumulation by a few (Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal). Gradually, the USA will soon lose its global supremacy. Workers are rising out of backwardness; the unabating technological revolution has changed the way people perform in an economy. The widening middle class strata owing to more expansive general and tertiary education, the withering away of rural populations and the

increase in metropolis and megalopolis unemployed gives impetus to more advanced social consciousness, makes an anachronism of capitalism as an economic system that must work the way it did 50 years ago, creates a major contradiction for the IMF, WB and WTO, as the securers of wealth for just a few.

Hence one may conclude that systems such as capitalism (in all its forms) and bureaucracy will see a decline and be replaced by open systems of government and governance. But we know that dictatorships, totalitarianism, autocracy and fascism are still being utilised to keep workers in bondage.

5.

WHAT 'FREEDOM STRUGGLE'?

Why did the capitalist nature of the ANC reveal itself so clearly, from 1990 – 1994 and beyond? While workers fought and protected 'the struggle' (MDM) prior to 1994, did they expect their demands to be particularised by the struggle vanguard post 1994? Were workers expecting their demands to be met by a pro capitalist party? Am I to conclude, that the trust placed in the ANC, COSATU and SAPC (later the Alliance) was a flimsy, shaky and loosely undefined trust? A 'blind' trust, more accurately. What speaks loudly, was the rapidity with which the ANC and later the Alliance, exhibited their pro capitalist nature. In 1993 Chris Hani was slain; in 1994 the 'new' RSA was born; in 1996, the 'democratic' Constitution; 2009–2018, the presidential watch of J G Zuma. The Marikana massacre (2012) took place under J G Zuma's watch. So when, during this brief timeline, was the RSA workers' plight granted urgent attention? Never! If a phenomenon does not reveal itself, then one may conclude that it never did exist (Chernyshevsky 1860). One may therefore conclude that the plight of workers in the RSA was never on the agenda of the ANC, and hence the Alliance, given the resilient bond between the three entities.

COSATU is a trade union and by that nature and purpose cannot represent workers politically. In fact, COSATU *had not* and *will not* spearhead a general strike on behalf of workers for both political and economic demands. Trade unions 'negotiate' workplace demands, not human dimension demands.

*N G Chernyshevsky. The Anthropological principle in philosophy. 1860.

In relation to the socio-political-educational- economic-environmental- cultural- health and technological human dimensions of workers, their interests and demands cannot be particularised by the trade unions.

The *turncoats* showed no interest at all in the principle stated in this argument. Hence, workers are not represented in Parliament and therefore stripped of their validation, visibility and voice. Workers were beaten, tortured, killed; left their homes to enter Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and working class youths fought police and military between 1976 and 1994. One may testify that while the ANC had the support of the working class at their rallies and demonstrations, their relations with organised workers were based on falsehoods. So why do workers continue to vote for the ANC, a capitalist party? This ploy persists presently, does it not, in that tribalist manifestations among the majority of indigenous South African workers gives credibility to traditional leaders, ancestral lineage and clan-ism, which embed patriarchy and middle class status quo (material, political and social values) among ruling class brethren, while subservient workers suffer landlessness and joblessness. Backwardness is exploitable. *RSA workers never did account for the absence of a working class programme on the ANC's agenda, given the importance of developing their political consciousness.* Workers confounded (perhaps) their political programme with the (middle class) Freedom Charter, a middle class agenda, driven by lawyers, doctors, accountants and academics (the intelligentsia), however 'tail-coated' by workers, i.e. a workers' charter did not exist. While the aspirants of the Freedom Charter demanded to share the freedoms enjoyed by the franchised, workers had no direction and was without an astute, independent vanguard. Trade union leaders were not prepared to take up the struggle as they were drawn

to careers in the capitalist government. Trade unionism does not equate with worker demands and worker sovereignty.

Prior and 1994, the ANC postured as the worker's vanguard. History holds testimony to the betrayal of working class struggles in Russia, China, Indonesia, Chile and Nicaragua, to name a few. It is necessary to examine the nature of the ANC in order to utilise such knowledge in the process of raising political consciousness among workers. Workers need to make clear and precise distinctions between their agenda and that of the ruling party; the ANC (i) shape and strengthen the prevailing status quo (socio-economic relations) to benefit the elite and the middle classes, (ii) shape and strengthen their organisation through careful planning of appointments, deployments and positioning of the organisation, (iii) hold the retention of power and control as paramount (iv) distribute wealth (salaries and perks) through the expansion of the state bureaucracy, (v) lead by dictating (bullying) subordinates, (vi) exclude socialists, (vii) support class distinction and racial division, latter through the perpetual employ of racist terminology.

The 1994 'smooth transition' meant that the workers' struggle in the RSA had to be extinguished; hence, the killing of Chris Hani. Workers, in building the workers' party, will interpret the seven points (above) in support of a pro capitalist agenda and 'exclusive' socio-economic relations; these points direct the nature and characteristics of the ANC and the Alliance. Hence RSA workers require their independent party, programme and manifesto based on crystal clear demands. Wealth must be distributed according to the needs and expectations of the people, hence again, according to human dimension needs for a quality form of life in a classless society.

ANC branches nationwide are rubber stamping bodies,

not independent local party bases; a case of blind followers controlled by an MP deployed to administer a certain area along party lines, whereas the socialist model calls for actively participating citizens in decision making 'from below'. The socialist way calls for the workers' political education programme to guide all development and wealth distribution, in the interest of social progress. Workers can only present their interests and demands, debate issues and ideological points at their own organisations, to their worker comrades. Working class interests are incongruent with ANC party interests, in *modus operandi* and *modus vivendi*. The organisational elements are different. Historically, the ANC never did support a mass-based 'dialectical' ambition, hence their members are compelled to wear 'blinkers'. On this level there is no difference between the National Party, DA or ANC *modus operandi*; it was and is on the level of top-down controls of party and 'class' goals and objectives! Hence there can be no such thing as a 'black working class'!

The ANC before and after 1994 (i) alienated itself (closed ranks) from the masses, (ii) absorbed MK into the state army, and (iii) entrenched racism through their policies such as 'affirmative action', OBE and 'BBBEE'. RSA is not to be confounded with the USA! The 'inward focus' and 'dictatorial' nature of the ANC stands in contradiction to 'collectivism', open participation and consultation, collaboration and joint decision making (equitable representation) on the political level. A deep examination of the Constitution (1996) does not indicate open forum discursive and deliberative dialogue with communities to 'better' their living conditions and social progress. The Constitution (1996) tacitly places all power in the hands of government and none to the people. This may be verified by examining a parliamentary representative system.

During the strikes and boycott years 1973 -1994, and during voting periods, working class areas are targeted by the ANC with calls to 'rallies' and marches. The bus boycott and the red meat boycott (1980) requires analysis of the extent to which these movements were attributed to the ANC. Little did workers realise that they were the 'dispensable' variable in the ANC's strategy and tactics. What was important to the ANC during the MDM years, was that the closed 'inner-circle' middle class party loyalists constituted the essential, unwavering core of the party. To this core one may add academic cliques and cabals of like-minded ideology, i.e. 'the friends of the people'.

An independent workers party will subscribe to the ideology of the collective, collective ownership of results and collective administration of power and control in meeting the demands of workers. So, is the ANC 'socialist', 'democratic' or simply 'a hybrid of 'new liberals'? The ruling party place enormous control on (i) expansion of the middle class and the preservation of their values, (ii) keeping the working class in miserable conditions in the 'township-camps', along with hunger, deprivation of quality life, joblessness and a poor education system, (iii) political education, (iv) victimising individuals who dare challenge mainstream ANC thinking, commonly referred to as 'third force'. Transparency, accountability to people and openness are principles supported by the ANC as 'lip service'. In reality they are a closed, bureaucratic, hierarchical and unaccountable, deeply intolerant and indecisive on matters of corruption, duplicity and malfeasance in general. They seem to protect wrong-doers. It is therefore important that organised and politically conscious workers challenge the ruling elite in all aspects of their government, governance and policy formulation; in particular,

chapter 2 of the Constitution (1996), sections 23, on the right to jobs and 26(i) the right to housing which strips workers of their democratic rights! Classless society, a permanent political education programme and building an independent Working Class Party of South Africa are priorities for workers. Workers need to progress beyond trade unionism, beyond the ‘spinning’ jargon of the intellectually senile SACP ‘icons’ and beyond the sterile ANC leadership. Gains made by workers, requires harnessing as instruments in the furtherance of their own struggle for genuine emancipation from capitalist exploitation.

How would the RSA workers define the extant government, with its quasi mixed-liberal economy, blurred economic-social-educational and indistinct service oriented infrastructural policies and planning? How would the smug and arrogant (smugorrant) ANC officials, who has a history of meandering between the corruptees and the corruptors, respond to it in a value-rich manner? By the way, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, chair of South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2001), mildly questioned the ANC’s “transition” from freedom fighting to capitalism-liberalism; while he, like N R Mandela, steered a path away from worker-politics and socialist rhetoric, to appease the WTO, WB, IMF, UK, USA, UN, EU *et al.* by referring to the RSA workers as “these people”, comparing “these things” ... what would the workers say about the manner thereof?* And, what would the workers say about the ANC’s U-turn from the ‘struggle’ demands and the ‘instant’ wealth accrued by many of the ANC’s leadership post 1994?

* “South Africa; Tutu Says Poverty, Aids Could Destabilise Nation,” AllAfrica.com, November 4, 2001.

** Klein, N. 2008. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. Chapter 10. Picador. USA.

And more... selling off of state owned enterprises (between 1997 and 2004), what would the workers say, as measures such as these served to increase joblessness, poverty and homelessness? And what would the workers say about the 'neo-liberal' crash training in government administration the selected few in the upper strata of the ANC were 'put through' by USA, EU and UK "business schools, investment banks, economic policy think tanks and the World Bank", in the years leading up to 1994? Perhaps finally, why was N R Mandela such good pals with the Bill Clinton regime?

The killing of comrade Chris Hani (1993) must be seen in the context of the emerging the 'new' South Africa (1994) and the power frenzy exercised by the burgeoning and extant bourgeois guard, national and international. The leadership of the ANC, was clearly bought, paid for, left fragile and fractured. It was obvious then that the social and economic status of workers in the RSA would not be radically addressed. The least said on the topic the better: This phase of South African history, must urgently go under the microscope. What really happened to the wealth of the RSA from 1994 to the close of 2008, from the perspective that the workers constitute the greatest wealth of the country?

In the years leading up to 2001, the Apartheid debt of R90 billion was 'settled' with the World Bank. This money could have financed the socio-political-educational-economic-environmental-cultural-health needs of working class development in the RSA, particularly, education, health and housing, as one could not be developed without the other. No doubt it left South Africa broke, as unemployment rose and the Rand was 'made' fragile by capitalist-imperialist magnates. Whose stern middle finger was pointed at the ANC that compelled the once revolutionary party to docility? The ANC

relinquished the struggle, i.e. settled quickly into capitalist mode. Comrade Mandela had renounced links with Marxists soon after his election as President, "In our economic policies . . . there is not a single reference to things like nationalisation, and this is not accidental," he said; "There is not a single slogan that will connect us with any Marxist ideology". To make things really confusing, Comrade Thabo Mbeki, formerly, a self-declared socialist, stated to the world, in June 1996, "Just call me a Thatcherite", taking the RSA further from the socialist goal-post. The middle class did not question it. The working class for many reasons, could not respond. So Thatcherism in the RSA probably was noticed by academia and a handful of business persons. Among comrades, having tasted wealth, power and control, were driven to get more of it. Twenty-eight years later, the RSA state is characterised by incompetence, documents generation, expansion of the state bureaucracy, corruption, patronage and gross neglect of priorities, resulting in the decline of social growth and development. While the ANC had assumed political power, the economy remained solidly in the hands of its owners, local and international mega companies, unscathed by the negotiated settlement. The MDM had removed the Apartheid burden from the owners of capital. For them and for the political elite, the struggle had paid dividends. According to Naomi Klein (2011) by 2006, the poverty and unemployment among the RSA workers had doubled; the previously franchised retained wealth and high earnings in comparison to workers; the RDP housing scheme (small block shaped 'cubes', concentration camp sheds) conceived by comrade Joe Slovo, proved to be a long-term disaster and a critical factor in South Africa's economic and social decline. By 2006, the number of shacks (in township-

camps) had doubled. The RSA economy was in crisis. The real political work in the RSA was yet to begin.

The capitulation of the ANC and the Alliance to liberal-conservatism also invoked burying the revolutionary symbols of the peoples' struggles; again the middle class intelligentsia and elite were silent: Sharpeville Day, June 16th and May Day are now known by other 'softer' names. In addition the ANC imported the 'failed' OBE and affirmative action policies (BBBEE) from the USA. Strategies such as RDP, Gear, AsgiSA and NDP papered over cracks in the economy while the 'right to work' was omitted from chapter 2 of the Constitution (1996). The ANC slogan of "a better life for all" has survived for two and more decades. A phraseology as bankrupt as the ANC itself! The slogan is advertised and marketed without any reference to sustainable quality of life or standards of life for the working class. An empirically meaningless phrase designed to dupe, confuse and to sell 'hope' that a 'better life' will come to workers someday. BBBEE legislation, cadre deployment, the Equity Act (55 of 1998), Affirmative Action, private education at tertiary institutions, easily obtained bank loans for middle class needs, tenderpreneurship and costly expansion of government departments have served middle class expansion well.

Patronage, nepotism, inflated salaries for bureaucrats, provision of infrastructure in rising middle class suburbs, shopping centres, opportunities and upward mobility, creating 'a better life' for the middle class, elite and new intelligentsia. The middle class would not bite the hand that feeds them. For the RSA workers, the gains from the struggle remained elusive, intangible and nothing.

Parallels may be drawn between the old regime and the new one, between the DA and the ANC. One may examine the

nature of the SACP and COSATU in 'Alliance' with the ANC. The working class have few friends if any. Those in the bourgeois parliament continue to use workers as cannon fodder, in times of need and in times of national voting.

The education, independence and directedness of workers in the RSA of 'high priority'. The RSA working class is the only class who can commence the fight for a classless society, i.e. equalising the wealth domain and raising the standard of life of all South Africans. Like all capitalist states, the ANC will not hesitate to employ the military against workers in the most ruthless manner as they have shown in Marikana. The more the ANC becomes dismantled, the sharper workers must become to guard against further degeneration and regression of their conditions, by adopting measures to set in motion permanent 'socialist' education programmes and a workers' voice as a political force. Twenty-eight years of municipal failure, malfeasance, power-distancing and civic protests have failed to deliver adequate, quality services to workers. COGTA and SALGA remains intransigent on important municipal issues; workers remain 'excluded' from municipal affairs. The ANC had thus defined their position on working class demands and interests; the following point out:

- Municipal appointments are not made from 'below';
- Municipal statutes are not honoured by municipal officials;
- The employ of racist terminology by party members continue;
- Public participation satisfies municipal officials, not community needs and expectations;
- Housing and community services are fragmented and of poor quality;
- Indifference to corruption and cadre positioning has become a governance norm;

- Unemployment, poverty and lack of social support is entrenched at the local level;
- Municipalities serve the business class, not the working class;
- Openness, accountability, equity, inclusivity and transparency are workers' demands that are not satisfied;
- Workers have no active part in community planning, no 'civic education' and no say in municipal spending;
- Municipalities are fragmented, hierarchical, conservative, reactionary bodies.

In summary, in what 'freedom struggle' were gains won by the workers of South Africa? Workers must defend their interests, demands, purpose and social progress in the land of their birth.

6.

THE NECESSITY FOR SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS IN WORKER EDUCATION

There is nothing in life that stands unconnected to science and mathematics. Socialism is an empirical discipline; similarly, scientific socialism demands materialist rules of engagement. Science and mathematics offers mental and physical tools for evaluating all actions, deeds, outputs, interpretations and outcomes which impact on worker lives. Hence, socialist education impacts on how one speak, think and act, without which workers will be intellectually short changed and lacking in astuteness when confronted by pro status quo spin doctors. Scientific socialism is the opposite of jargonistic-popular socialism; scientific socialism is the underbelly of worker education. Hence workers must *demand* the right to universal science and mathematics education for their children from inception. It may be noted that the children of the wealthy regard such education as a norm while working class children are deprived thereof!

Spin doctoring is the art of bourgeois speechmaking and trade union messaging to workers, regarded as 'norms'; such messaging contain inherent contradictions, 'fallible', whimsical, concocted, pointless remarks that serve only the interest of exploitative persons and illegitimate regimes. The purpose of spin doctoring is to dissuade, hinder progress or to block the objectives of the other party, or simply, just to fabricate untruths. It is undeniable that capitalism-imperialism honour the role that science and mathematics have played in solidifying their economic power. All sciences, careers, planning, organisations and institutions have behind it meticulous calculation, relative to the creation of benefit, profit,

value, advantage and reward. Science and mathematics serves as the fulcrum for all progress, advancement, development, thought, actions and speech. All these events are connected in complex relationships, tensions, conflict and collaboration.

Hence it is the task of workers to apply science and mathematics principles in their thinking when engaging socialist material, quantifying envisaged change, shaping consciousness, strategy and tactics, questioning leadership and calculating their demands based on materialist principles and scientific merit. Herein lies the value of scientific socialism (activism based on facts and material conditions) when engaging the rights and demands of workers for advanced, dignified life.

But who are the custodians of mathematics and science education in our society? And why in this regard, are only the wealthy privy to it? Science and mathematics education is 'owned' by capitalism-imperialism and hence it accords to the upper classes superiority over poverty stricken workers who have to 'buy it' from them; hence arises discriminatory practices in education. According to the bourgeois elite, science and mathematics education 'is not meant for the poor' since they constitute the 'cheap labour pool'!

For the advancement of thought, reason, rational-logical deduction, intellectual interpretations, network thinking, effective communication, abstract thinking, empirical thinking, ability to perform intellectually and objectively, interpreting statistical formulations, analysis of documents, speeches, cognitive ability, understanding structures and functions, answering to who, why, when, where, what and how, understanding life itself; all of these actions require *understanding* and *mathematical-scientific conception*.

Learning science and mathematics develops 'common-sense' (astuteness) that aids intellectual development in

political discursive and deliberative dialogue (dialectics) in order to engage real-life *everyday* problems. Hence it is necessary for workers to demand universal learning of science and mathematics. These valuable disciplines can no longer be controlled and issued upon the whims of the ruling elite. The state (DBE) invented *mathematics literacy* for the working class while wealthy scholars study *pure mathematics*. The reason for this should be clear in respect of worker oppression. It is not difficult to deduce why the ruling party introduced *mathematics literacy* in the working class schools!

The wealthy-elite learn science and mathematics to enable them to acquire great careers, so that they may assume their 'place' in bourgeois society, i.e. to sustain a cycle of oppression! Workers are doomed by the 'limitations' of their mental agility without a thorough schooling in science and mathematics; doomed to the 'back-seats' of life, economy and society; doomed to ignorance and manipulation, domination and subservience. There can be no more important a demand and interest by workers than their demand for science and mathematics teaching and learning. *Mathematics literacy* for the working class and *pure mathematics* for the elite! This is the legacy of the new RSA ruling elite! For workers and their children there can be but one demand, and that is to rid South Africa of *mathematics literacy* in schools. Workers of the RSA must demand explanations for the introduction of OBE (which failed in the USA and around other parts of the world) and 'mathematics literacy'. When mathematics is purposefully and cunningly extracted from the workers' education by the ruling party, it serves to entrench the 'backwardness' among workers.

Simple tables can show the critical value of science and mathematics education and how the state aids purposeful class discrimination in the provision of basic schooling: The first

table shows capitalist social relations and the second table assumes socialist social relations (classless society), the normative and universal case (as it should be). The relevant principle is the direct comparison between intellectual ability, mathematical reasoning and utilisation thereof in shaping political and class consciousness:

THE CURRENT STATUS QUO:

Context	Action	Results
Wealthy students pressured to acquire participation in existing capitalist socio-economic relations to further class interests.	Elite-middle class learn science and mathematics at private & model C schools with much encouragement.	Top results are achieved. Participation in elite / middle class society to further create wealth and own property.
Working class students have the expectation of success in a structurally poor learning environment in order to participate fully in existing capitalist socio-economic relations.	<i>Working class</i> learn science, mathematics and mathematics literacy <i>minimally</i> in state schools with poor infrastructure - with little encouragement.	None to few opportunities to participate in elite middle-class society, structures and institutions. Below standard results are achieved. Expanding cheap labour pool.

THE NORMATIVE-UNIVERSAL CASE:

Context	Action	Results
Participation in classless society with socialist relations. Universal education standards applied on basis of equity.	Compulsory teaching and learning of science and mathematics according to universal schooling imperatives. Emphasis on understanding and thought development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equity in economic opportunity; • Equity in schooling; • Equity in living standards; • Equity in social opportunity; • Classless-non discriminatory society; • Collectives and • Social progress.

In order to properly utilise scientific socialism for political maturity and efficacy, science and mathematics education must provide the building blocks for (i) raising the intellectual and

social abilities, (ii) social capacity (social capital), (iii) learning and advancing higher order cognitive skills among citizens, in achieving balance (equilibrium) in society.

Mathematics has been the root and bases for the past and present technological revolutions. Only science and mathematics provide intellectual grounding for translating labour, resources and effort into social goods and social benefits. In capitalism, the elite is naturally unwilling to open such instruments with workers. Workers are accorded just enough science and mathematics education to keep them in the position of ‘till-workers’ and ‘maids’, while the children of the elite are accorded the best in science and mathematics education that would propel them into elitist professions.

A worker who has a grasp of basic mathematical principles will indulge the world intelligently, critically and equally with their bourgeois counterparts. The worker who is deprived of this education will indulge the world’s activities as a mere set of dull, disconnected ‘incidences’ which to him / her requires no explanation, but merely to be approached with ‘docile acceptance’. Worker education programmes, (as with scholars in working class schools) must elucidate the origins of mathematics, show how distances over oceans were measured by ancient mariners, how time can be told from shadows cast by the sun, why coins were invented and used as currency, how great palaces were built by emperors using clever mathematical tools, i.e. how and why civilisation unfolded the way it did. Mathematics has no meaning without its applicability to social existence; no meaning without its dialectical and materialist applications. Mathematics must be demystified for mass consumption by the working class, as it shapes a critical and analytical mind, required for the intrinsic understanding of working class politics, i.e. scientific socialism, classless society

and the reasons for raising class consciousness.

The demand for science and mathematics teaching and learning is a political one without which the fulfilment of the socio- political-educational-economic-environmental- cultural-health and technical demands cannot be correctly quantified and qualified in the interest of worker advancement. Children are susceptible to mathematical ideas and understanding, intricate relationships and links between phenomena. Their brains are open and not burdened with meaningless restrictions and content. When children are deprived of important and essential learning, like mathematics, backwardness sets in and crystallises in the mind. Intellectual deprivation leads to a loss of interest in new learning. Children under Apartheid were deprived of learning mathematics, languages, science, art, literature and world views. In working class schools, the present regime has retained the phenomenon of mathematics and science deprivation, as it ensures the state and capitalist class of a cheap and backward labour force that is incapable of forging their political independence in a capitalist state.

Many workers can add and subtract. Fewer can divide and multiply. Even fewer can calculate ratios and more intricate mathematical computations and dimensions. Simple relations between mathematics and science, of which examples are, (i) the composition of water and how it is influenced by temperature, (ii) states of matter and weight, (iii) the relationship between magnetism and electricity, remain unfamiliar territory in the minds of many of the workers and solidifies a platform for tardiness across the learning spectrum. Mathematics, science teaching and the love for reading, prepares and wakens the mind for the intelligent understanding and interpretation of life, politics, economics and sociology, et cetera, a personal triumph over backwardness; a means to an

end, a path on which to engage a capitalist government on all working class issues.

It is therefore the political responsibility of the working class to enforce the fundamental demand for quality universal science and mathematics education in all schools and learning spheres as a measure of support for an advancing the working class, i.e. in the quest for classless society. This must be done!

Ten science and mathematics principles accepted as true:

- **The relationship between quality and quantity.** There exists a material and dialectical relationship between quality and quantity. A dynamic change in quality implies a change in quantity. The relationship between the two variables (or constructs) are inseparable as a dependency exists between them. When politicians fail to quantify and or qualify their statements out of sheer mendacity, workers may query about quality criteria (liveability, workmanship and aesthetic appearance) and quantified data (sizes, volumes, amounts, evidence, statistics, et cetera) purposely omitted, as in the construction of houses, services provided, quality of life, education of children and adults, budgets, schedules, reports, timeframes, et cetera; everything of concern to citizens are influenced by quantities and its corresponding qualities.

- **Discrimination.** Capitalist society discriminates between ‘what’ science and mathematics is taught in schools in order to sustain discrimination on the basis of class, costs, subject content, hours of input and outcomes expected. Discrimination also occurs relative to age, race, ethnicity, education, culture, housing delivery, health facilities (medical stock, services and facilities), bias in surveys, bias in planning and bias at universities incurred by academic cabals. The quality of

superiority is inseparable from inferiority; the quality of adequacy is inseparable from inadequacy (as in RDP 'houses'). Discrimination generate advantages and disadvantages. All of these social constructs have certain *quality of life* qualities and quantities which may be dialectically tested, in the interest of socio-economic progress.

- **Measuring and evaluation.** Workers should mathematically and scientifically 'evaluate' actions, documents, deeds, strikes, programmes, projects, policies, demonstrations, results and consequences (intended and unintended) that relates to government and governance in order to assess gains, losses, advantages, disadvantages, outputs, outcomes, forecasts, et cetera. Relative to 'a better life for all', one may quantify, ask what, when, who, where and how this will be achieved.

- **Facts.** Nothing comes into being without purpose. The need for verifiable factual data (evidence) is an imperative. Factual data is open to mathematical and scientific testing and hence decisions are best made on the basis of facts. Capitalist politicians are reluctant to 'discuss facts' with citizens as these are regarded as instruments of power, to be safely guarded. Capitalists interpret facts according to their interests; workers too should provide factual (material) bases for their demands and expectations. Facts may be treated integratively or as the current status quo demands, in fragmented and meaningless manner. Facts also have an enabling (clarity and decisiveness) and empowering quality.

- **Capitalist ideology is weak, as it is based on contradictions.** Scientifically speaking, capitalists generally own between 70% - 80% of the nation's wealth, while the remainder waste away in poverty. Why do capitalists require, want or need so much wealth? One may also ask why tigers are dangerous to other animals. The scientific answer is that greed and the need to

accumulate wealth is in their nature. But since all humans are accorded with some degree of 'rationality', one may conclude that wastage, accumulation of surplus wealth and gross individualism is the antithesis of working class values. Hence arise the critical, structural contradictions in capitalist society. But workers have a choice: To remain in poverty and deprivation or to destroy the existing contradictions in capitalist society? One cannot establish classless society in a capitalist mode of production, that will be contradictory.

• **Equity and balance.** Society is said to be in balance, i.e. in equilibrium, when all forces are at rest and not in tension or conflict, as illustrated by an equilateral triangle. While capitalist contradictions strip workers of dignified liveability, jobs, quality food, schooling and more, society is in imbalance. Social tensions arise and take the form of riots, protests, strikes, mass dissatisfaction and conflict. High crime rates, racial conflict, unemployment and poverty (economic deprivation) gives rise to a fractured society. While the wealthy can endure tough times, the working class cannot as they do not have the means. Hence, each one of the socio-political-educational-economic-environmental- cultural-health and technological dimensions of working class life in 'township-camps' stagnates in terms of progress. Social tensions and fractures inhibit social progress and general happiness of citizens resulting in economic decline.

• **The scarce resources dilemma.** Scarcity in capitalist society arise when capitalists stockpile goods and sell when high prices can be obtained. Scarcity also arise because of a lack of 'peoples' cooperatives and community small holdings, owing to government's lackadaisical approach to food security, energy and other forms of national security. In the RSA government acts in a 'top-down' manner and not 'bottom-up' which is evidenced by the (i) quantity and quality of the support

accorded to the working class, (ii) scarce resources channelled to building the new middle class, (iii) lack of political will and (iv) lack of a culture of empowerment and enablement of communities through civic education programmes. Resources wastage is quantifiable, coupled with the highly skewed 'investment' model in operation currently. The issuing of party political powers with huge salaries, perks, flights to meetings, car hire, luxury accommodation and dinners, create a pointless financial burden on the RSA workers.

- **The concept of limits.** When resources are scarce, limitation planning in respect of resources utilisation should be conducted with worker participation. However, (i) worker collectives and (ii) 'inclusive' governance policy, don't exist in the RSA democracy. Wastage of scarce resources is inevitable in this context. Workers who had developed operating knowledge of limits, proportioning, scales, scope, costing, calculation of budgets, benefits and efficiencies, are able to counter the illogical rambling of spin-doctoring politicians on the allocation of resources. Demystifying the concept of limits in a workers' education programme is necessary, in respect of policy, projects and programmes successes and sustainability.

- **Mathematical values are finite.** Money cannot inflate or deflate miraculously; money cannot suddenly disappear; R1 cannot strangely equate to 50c. Government budgets are finite and as a matter of principle, cannot be altered at a whim. Hence quantities matching certain qualities, must logically also be finite unless altered by parties legitimised to do so, such as 'corrupt manipulation' by the ruling elite. Workers have no say in these matters until this right becomes a practice. Therefore, a monetary sum, or stocks, are quantifiable and alteration thereof must be fully evidenced. Malfeasance is preventable, hence the need for oversight by a workers' party. Understanding

the concept of finite values enable workers to deal with state projects and programmes, financial allocations, management, reporting and malpractice detection.

• **Proportion.** The concept of proportion teaches that quantities can be shared using percentages and ratios in order to establish equity, balance and fair distribution of resources in order to achieve quality standards of life. All wealthy-affluent areas in the RSA have greater **public value** than working class 'township-camps'. In classless society wealth and resources must be shared proportionately and managed collectively, thus establishing the ethic of equitable distribution of resources.

Science and mathematics are therefore instruments for raising the class consciousness of workers. Capitalists 'mystify' mathematics and science and treat it with 'elitist' aura so that they may claim ownership to it. Since mathematics provides basic principles for the logical arrangement of thoughts, speech and actions, no place is left for unsubstantiated assumptions, bourgeois verbiage and empty phraseology in debating critical worker issues. For phenomena to exist it must have identifiable concrete form and shape, quality and quantitative attributes. When these attributes cannot be revealed, the phenomenon itself cannot exist!

Calculating a government folly:

EXAMPLE: A minimum of 2000 state officials use SAA flights nationally, thrice per month (p.m.), to attend national meetings. Portion of monthly salary excluded.					Expenditure p.m.
Average Cost	Return flight	R3000 per flight	R9000	X 2000 Officials	R18.0m
Average Cost	Accommodation	R1200 per night	R3600	X 2000 Officials	R07.2m
Average Cost	Meals stipend	R500 per day	R1500	X 2000 Officials	R03.0m
Average Cost	Car Hire	R2000 (3 days)	R2000	X 2000 Officials	R04.0m
Total Average Cost p.m.					R32.2m→

Fact based questions for organised worker groups to ask:

- Could telematics have been used at much less cost?
- Was value created equitable with R32.2m?
- Could this sum of money be regarded as a sunk cost?
- Could this sum of money have been invested in a social progress programme or project?

7.

RSA WORKERS REGARDED WITH CONTEMPT

What was the purpose for the formalisation of the 'Alliance' post 1994? A quick and whimsical answer is because 'Alliance' members wanted to share government and governance henceforth. But how plausible is this answer? Did the 'Alliance' partners not have their independent aims and objectives? Was there a 'common' political-socio and economic ideology between them? Did the SACP and COSATU leaders pledged allegiance to the ANC in government and in so doing forego their independence? Or was this phenomenon 'the gravy train' on the move? Did the Alliance aim to serve the plutocrats, capitalists and imperialists by being in alliance with the ANC? For the SACP members it meant swelled government salaries. Was it that an 'Alliance' would best serve workers? But how could that be? Is there evidence pointing to the purpose for the 'Alliance' after since 1994? How would workers benefit from being in an 'Alliance' with a capitalist party? SACP leaders are card carrying members of the ANC. How can the SACP leaders be socialist and capitalist simultaneously? All 'alliances' have *common objectives*. So what were these *common objectives* and what purpose did it serve? Were workers to benefit from it?

There are too many assumptions and contradictions! For example, can one be DA and ANC at the same time? To make matters worse, if one argues that the 'Alliance' is strategic, then by implication the parties must formalise common goals and principles for collaboration and cooperation. Are working class demands and interests 'on' or 'off' their agenda? When one eventually finds the scientific reasons for the 'Alliance' one will have to declare the 'Alliance' a support entity to capitalists

and not to the workers, simply because the ANC as of 1994, clearly represented capitalist and their interests.

Workers would have seen gains over the last twenty-eight years if the 'Alliance' acted in their favour. Workers are acutely disadvantaged without (i) the right to work and (ii) the right to housing. In addition, the rift between government and the workers were covertly petrified. So, what was to be done about it? What does the so called democratic state offer workers? One thing was clear, the development of workers in terms of their socio, political, educational, economic environmental, cultural, health and technological dimensions of human life was destined for the rubbish bin! Facts show that in each of these dimensions of human life, workers were regarded with contempt!

RSA workers live in 'township-camps' where no middle class person would live. Workers' material conditions are inadequate and of exceptionally poor quality; workers are subjected to poor transport, poverty, squalor, ill schooling, ill health facilities, joblessness, poor education, lack of money and high incidences and control by gangsters; there are few amenities to enjoy; water provision and sanitation poses a major problem for workers. A quality environment supporting a cultural life of art, dance and theatre are non-existent. The question of 'affordability' is not an issue here; what is of importance is the opportunity and dignity of workers to participate *fully* in social, economic, educational, political and cultural life, in the land of their birth. The state behaves criminally in this regard; the state of workers' living conditions must be challenged. According to BusinessTech (March 2018), the elite and upper middle class comprise 14% of the RSA population; the lower middle class, workers (and some others) therefore account for 84% of the population, virtually left

abandoned by the state, i.e. the Alliance! Should we continue wondering why the economy of South Africa is dragging? The children of workers do not grow up with a balanced and stable socio-political-educational-economic-environmental-cultural-health foundation as do their elite counterparts. This deficit results in inequality, class discrimination and disdainful norms! This demonstrates nothing but contempt for workers.

Since the RSA workers are without a political party, leadership and a mass-based permanent socialist education programme, they have much work to do. A real detachment from the 'Alliance' would be a good start coupled with the formulation of a clear workers' programme, in which workers' demands are *decisively* outlined for each of the social - political-educational- economic- environmental- cultural- health and technological dimensions of daily life. Thus far worker uprisings were spontaneous, sporadic and short lived; deaths have occurred at the hands of the police, making the RSA a questionable democratic state and most *unequal* in the world!

Organisation is important in the workers' struggle. A general strike, for workers' economic and political demands, is a powerful instrument in the hands of workers, only when their economic and political demands are clear, decisive and driven by an *independent* workers' party.

Workers are not *directly* represented in government; COSATU and SACP at frivolous times, '*assume*' the workers' voice. NUMSA (a trade union) has made utterances 'towards a socialist goal-post', now severed from the Alliance, which presents much confusion, simply a convenient smokescreen. But what is the real intention behind their rhetoric and use of terminology? Is NUMSA a pro workers' organisation? Then what must be expected of them? Must they lead? No! Workers must create an independent vanguard in order to hold to the

sovereignty of their vanguard! A workers' movement cannot be contained under the umbrella of a trade union affiliated to the AFL-CIO. Trade unions are subordinate to a workers' vanguard! COSATU does not have a 'radical' agenda to lift workers out of its current misery. Stories of internal corruption and immorality in COSATU have adequately left workers in the lurch with regard to real burning issues such as violence and deaths that are a daily occurrence in their ranks. COSATU is silent on corruption in the corridors of state. The SACP is an embarrassment to South African workers and the rest of the world in terms of its role in the capitalist 'Alliance' and its feeble and messy socialist rhetoric. The representatives of capital, IMF, WTO, World Bank, E.U. and United Nations cannot but regard the SACP's existence in South Africa as a useless money-grabbing appendage of government; a case of *if you can't beat them then join them!* Only the organised working class can nullify the tail coating SACP. Even their name, riddled with contradiction, is out of sync with reality. What the SACP have left are their banners, vacillating leaders and bankrupt legacy over the last three decades. The SACP is incapable of moving the RSA working class to a classless society. The SACP defends the ANC! It cannot therefore also defend workers? Where lies their real interests?

At this point, workers are mindful that they have to rely on their own experience, their independent formulation of demands, manifesto, organisational strength and gain the trust of their compatriots. Workers are also mindful of the fact that they have to muster their courage as leaders to commence their independent political education programme and independent working class party. There is no confusion about it at present.

Strategies of the ANC is telling if one examines the waste of resources to corruption in monetary terms against the

Gini coefficient for the RSA since 2012 which is 62% - 66%, the highest in the world. The production of public value, particularly to be allocated to the workers in the RSA, has seen stagnation and under productivity. Over time, contradictions in the ANC have weakened the party credibility and hence its energy to improve the material conditions of workers. It is important for workers to expose these contradictions in the Alliance, for the sake of raising worker consciousness. The contradictions in the trade unions and the SACP, prior to and after 1994, make worthwhile lessons in political education.

Of greater importance to workers are the current realities of dwindling and fragile 'democracy' within and outside the party. The structuring and passing of the Information Bill in 2010 placed state power in the hands of the ruling elite by which they entrench their unaccountability to workers in South Africa. The purposeful deflection of accountability has become endemic in ruling party structures, state owned enterprises and in matters concerning patronage, waste of resources, clandestine operations of the police and army structures in the killing of workers. The Thuli Madonsela period speaks volumes about the indicators of information suppression.

In the Western Cape, the ANC plays second fiddle to the Democratic Alliance (DA) who squarely represents the big business sector, comprised in the main of the historically 'franchised group' of professionals, business owners and elite. The ANC in the Western Cape is no more and no less incompetent than elsewhere; their footprint of inefficiency is fortified with illusionary victories, arrogance, shallow analyses of situations affecting workers and indifference to the material state of the working class in the 'township-camps', save when elections are being conducted. The ANC in the Western Cape

has a history of 'failed and dirty' coalitions. They have shown acute bankruptcy in formulating strategy and tactics in this regard. Evictions, homelessness and poverty are the order of the day. 'Township-camps' have crystallised in the Western Cape. Workers, armed with a collectivist political ideology, can easily question the ruling elite's political strategy which invariably is loaded with the lack of rendering empowerment and enablement to the working class. Socialists have strategic advantage by virtue of representing genuine and tangible material change to achieve equity in society, by raising class consciousness and advancing classless society. What in concrete terms, does the ANC offer workers?

Political 'cocoonism' is an acute inwardly focused tendency among ruling party ilk. Political 'cocoonism' defines state functionaries when incompetence or unwillingness to act results in inertia and indifference. It is logical (and beneficial) to all citizens that a government should build a society that is cohesive, harmonious and productive. This takes forward thinking, collective integrity, cooperation and above all, open engagement with the willing working class. Corruption, clandestine manoeuvring, dishonesty and pilfering of the state coffers fits perfectly into the dimension of close-shop, internally focused, 'cocoonist' behaviour towards the general demands of workers. Political 'cocoonism' is entrenched by (i) silo-bureaucratic government structures and systems (ii) blind protection of the party, (iii) holding to the racial policies of BBBEE, Equity Act, affirmative action, (iv) a shaky ideology, (v) subservience to the *beck and call* of capitalism-imperialism and the corporate elite, (vi) retaining colonialist constructs and (vii) perfunctorious-ness.

Another tactic used by the ruling party to thwart its interaction with the working class is 'obscurantism', i.e. the

removal of logic, clarity and common sense from an argument. The ruling party is prone to create this condition as if things have dropped from the sky, such as the agenda at branch or provincial level. One can only practice obscurantism when in a position of 'power', i.e. power accorded to a person by another or by being in some 'position' of power distancing, i.e. control. Obscurantism disallows discursive and deliberative debate; it allows leaders to be vague, covert, obscure and secretive. Members in the ANC have become accustomed to following their 'higher-ups' blindly. Obscurantism also implies denial and or 'slipping' into pointless unconnected dialogue to avoid well-directed, pointed discussion. The 'information' acts generated in the RSA post 2000, protects state information and plays havoc with constitutional accountability. Obscurantism has the devastating purpose of depriving workers of information, knowledge and participation in political events which affect their decision making strengths. In dealing with political issues, workers need to develop analytical skills, with strong need for substantiation and linkages to their demands and common objectives. Obscurantism preserves ruling party self-interest, careerism, corruption and opportunism and relies on worker backwardness and tribalist reverence for 'elders'. Workers must break from these shackles.

'Apologia' falls into the same category of dismissive rhetoric as cocoonism and obscurantism. The act of 'apology' stated directly or indirectly, is used to cover up or to be dismissive of untruths, lying, falsities, duplicity and dishonesty. 'Apologia' is a common trait among government officials and politicians to dupe those whose political astuteness is blunt. 'Apologia' is intended to 'brush someone off', normally followed by innuendo or insulting remark; it prevents serious

and productive engagement between parties. The speaker invariably ‘hopes’ that his audience would believe what he said. Bourgeois politicians avoid being open, pointed and empirically clear when in discussion with workers. Either a sense of superiority or arrogance leads to apologetic behaviour as a means to an end. Apologia has no value. It simply sets progress back and ‘preserves’ the smugness and arrogance of the speaker. The only antidote for these ‘fools’ is skill in debate, knowledge, information, clear demands and interests. The party which holds the moral high-ground emerge victorious. Hence the requirement for socialist political education, heightened class consciousness and the ‘sense of belonging’ to a workers’ party!

Open, scientific, logical and factually pointed arguments, based on (i) real situations, (ii) material conditions, (iii) arguments and deliberations derived from a democratic struggle, will survive any bourgeois onslaught. Where the bourgeois will attempt to throw spanners in the works, a workers’ vanguard will triumph when holding to factual and scientific arguments. This is the ‘socialist scientific’ dialectic, i.e. method of deliberation. In this manner the fight is waged against capitalists who continue to hold workers’ demands in contempt. *Organic, interconnected and deliberative approaches to arguments must reflect the material conditions of workers.* ‘Organic’ frameworks and approaches allow workers to understand the interdependence and interconnections between phenomena, actions, purpose of government directives and the making of classless, productive society. Capitalists ‘fragment’ theory and practice, making it difficult for workers to see the ‘whole’ picture; workers on the other hand should link, integrate, connect and co-create in order to defeat capitalist rhetoric, strategy and tactics. Under capitalist rule we see divorced entities (hierarchy and bureaucracy) without seeing

connection between the parts. Under socialism one aims to 'see' holistically, respecting the relationships between the parts, the gradual emergence of the interconnected and interrelated 'whole' in the achievement of common demands, objectives and goals. *The Spear of the Nation* must be pointed at classless society in order to bring an end to a rotten and discriminatory set of social and economic relations which cement workers to poverty in all dimensions of human life.

There is a qualitative difference between the system of communism and socialism. Socialism implies a permanent struggle for equity, through revolutionary and evolutionary means, whereby the capitalist system of economics and class discrimination is obliterated and replaced with a worker driven democratic-collectivist-representative state. Socialism's main aim is to bring the working class to power and through this action accord the working class the demands which they formulated, such as the right to a quality life, the right to work and full rights concerning their socio-political- educational-economic-environmental-cultural-health and technological development. Highly developed worker political consciousness is a precursor for socialist rule. The type of democracy under socialism is characterised by equality, equity, representativeness, non-discriminatory practices (gender, physicality, age, race, ethnicity, class, culture, education), social integration, collectivist production (classlessness) and dialecticism in the fulfilment of the workers' programme.

A classless society, as a democratic arrangement, implies that collectivised wealth accumulation provides for the social progress of all citizens equally, without bourgeois forms of discrimination, such as wealth accumulation by a few, in the capitalist sense. Socialism is driven by shared power, social wellbeing, diversity, establishment of quality of life for all in

society, personal progress and the entrenchment of workers' rights. Socialism is an international political ideology and implies an internationalist perspective of classless society notwithstanding the volatility of capitalist onslaught on socialists. A timeline may be drawn to assist understanding of the progressive rise and decline of politico-economic systems, as one may pursue arguments on evolutionary or revolutionary grounds. Socialism is regarded historically as the early stages of communism.

Box: Historical timeline of political –economic systems

Economic Epochs	
2300BC	Bronze Age
1200-700BC	Iron Age
800-300BC	Axial Age
30-36	Crucifixion of Jesus Christ
	Primitive communism: Shared property and Hunting and gathering (agriculture)
500-1400	Feudalism (Agrarianism): During the European Middle Ages (when society went from slavery to feudalism characterised by aristocracy, theocracy and the state)
1400-1600	The Renaissance / advancing agrarianism
1500-1918	Colonialism: 568 indigenous American tribes were wiped out through Genocide.
1600-1820	Mercantilism / Merchant capitalism: Characterised by trade, imperialism, wars and nation state supremacy.
1760-1900	Industrial Revolution
1820	Capitalism
1818-1883	Karl Marx
1870-1918	New Imperialism: characterised [assuming] when WWI ended in 1918 Decolonisation, [assuming] after WWI
1888-1945	Early Capitalism: Industrial revolution or the machine age Capitalism: Market economy, private property, wage system, monopoly and imperialism
1905	The first Russian Revolution
1917	The second Russian Revolution
1945-2100	Late Capitalism: Globalisation & the digital era
??	Socialism: Common property, the means of production owned by all citizens, also referred to as the first stage of communism
??	Communism: Characterised by advanced socialism

After socialism has successfully been achieved and entrenched, communism was believed to be the 'next logical' political-economic and social form of human life, after workers have reached an advanced stage of economic life under socialism and when the state as we know it, is no longer required.

Present day scholars (e.g. Noam Chomsky) have on video, pumped holes into Leninism, which requires debate and study; however, the principles of socialism remain unshakable, while the socialist meaning of 'dictatorship' must be treated from a dialectical materialist perspective.

The employ of socialist terminology does not make one a socialist! It is one's consciousness and social interests which defines what we are! The definition of socialism and communism is often confounded, confused and utilised recklessly, stripping from it, it's scientific meaning, relative to extant materialist conditions of life. Workers' demands must be explicit and clear, whether it is called socialism or representative democracy; names for social systems will emerge from the demands set forth by workers; it might even be called the open state, or the 'holistic' state, given a study of Tektology, expounded by Bogdanov (a Bolshevik).

The advanced technological revolution is ideally poised to assist the transition towards socialism. At this stage it would be puerile to bandy about the notion of communism. Socialism should not be confounded with the totalitarian dictatorships of Hitler, Stalin, Pol Pot, Mao Zedong, Mussolini and Milosevic and the vast number of modern day control mongers found presently in Russia, Europe, China, South America and Asia. In terms defining terminology, the SACP must face many questions relative to their current role in the 'workers' struggle'.

The demand for dignified housing by workers constitutes an on-going war with a stagnant, visionless, non-innovative, intransigent state. Adequate quality housing is the primary factor in human development, key demand of the working class and pivotal factor in the socio-economic development of South Africa. The lack of this one factor alone points to the contempt held by the ruling class for the RSA workers. The present state of housing for the working class may be juxtaposed to the rapidity with which the ruling party channelled wealth and resources into the expansion of the middle class. While Comrade Joe Slovo's initiative *may have been* regarded as 'moral' (?), it stands today as one of the greatest programme failures of the ANC post 1994. Condemning people to live in a 64msq. cement 'block' home was showing contempt for the citizens who are pivotal in shaping the economy of the RSA. One may consider this housing feat to be a sunk cost, without aesthetic and investment value and in fact regressive in respects of (i) being facilitatory of the economic development of South Africa and (ii) scientifically detrimental to the socio-political-educational-economic- environmental- cultural- health and technological development and of workers and their children. Quality adequate housing demands quality environmental planning; 'township-camps' can be compared to concentration camps, as their essential characteristics are correlative.

Prior to 1994, the workers of the RSA were deprived of adequate housing. The post 1994 period witnessed the implementation, *en masse*, of the Joe Slovo housing model, an incomprehensible, demoralising, insensitive and catastrophic phenomenon! Twenty-eight years later, the economy of the RSA is in a bog and yet the ANC leadership is incapable of relating inadequate, concentration camp type housing to the

economic demise. One cannot expect to utilise an instrument of production (such as a house) if the instrument is bereft of 'use value'. The RDP house is not facilitatory of a developing working class. But, money was copiously available to build the new middle class! It was previously stated that the Constitution (1996) omits (i) the right to work and (ii) the right to housing. Again, while quantitative aspects in working class housing was made a priority, the qualitative aspects thereof were utterly obliterated. Workers must be schooled in defining modern applications of (i) 'liveability', (ii) dignified sustainable housing, (iii) neighbourhood planning, (iv) privacy and personal safety, (v) housing design, (vi) the application of quality standards, (vii) building science, (viii) quality of life and (ix) neighbourhood safety and security. The Joe Slovo model excludes (i) aesthetic and environmental appropriateness, (ii) social and economic proximity to city or town, (iii) access to theatres, cultural centres, schools, libraries, health centres, markets and other local-economic requirements, (vi) human development dimensions, (v) sound, safe, structures, (vi) sustainable 'investment' value, (vii) warmth, dryness, space and privacy, (viii) recognising the development of scholarly consciousness especially in children, (ix) recreation facilities, (x) personal safety and security.

The Alliance partners have never pressurised the ruling class for the right to work and the right to dignified housing. The vast expanse of the 'Joe Slovo' experiment has created the ongoing retention of poverty enclaves, racial enclaves and gangster enclaves. Exclusionary practices, a lack of measuring (evaluation), a lack of transparency and accountability, shoddy sanitation in 'homes' and schools, ridiculous cadre employment, i.e. favouritism, a lack of public engagement, employ of a crude and cruel transportation system, the advent

of housing workers 10km – 20km from the CBD, coupled with poor housing, the absence of a civic education programme, poor schooling, poor health services, a lack of cultural centres, joblessness, poverty and poor food quality, are indicators of contempt for the RSA working class and their children.

To overcome this socio-economic aberration, workers are compelled to embark on a permanent political education programme, with a particular focus on understanding scientific socialism. Such an education will allow workers to understand the cruelty and pointlessness of the flimsy, infantile mind of capitalist greed. First and foremost, such education is driven by the collective need, relevant to public purpose and public interest. Secondly, the development of a mathematical and scientific mind will facilitate the study of scientific socialism. Thirdly, the principles of decisiveness (avoiding vacillation, meaninglessness, waste and indecision) helps deliberative debate with opponents. Fourthly, the art of dialectics, i.e. argument based on facts, logical reasoning and objectives will be a powerful tool which capitalist desire to avoid. Fifthly, workers' astute political approach, means and ends formulations, based on the principles of science, social need and clear workers' demands, drawn from revolutionary experience and applied in real life to current everyday problems, political manoeuvring, strategy and tactical planning, serve to boost workers' class astuteness and consciousness. These constructs are the bases of working class democracy.

Race or racism militates against *scientific socialism* for the following reasons, (i) workers affiliate on international grounds, not on ethnic grounds, (ii) racism lack a scientific basis and has no value in working class collectives, (iii) capitalists employ racism to destabilise and weaken the working class; socialism strengthen workers though raising class consciousness

and (iv) racism displays backwardness above which workers must rise. Understanding and applying socialist terminology comes through reading, understanding, being critical and analytical. *Scientific socialism* is an understanding to be internalised. *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (F. Engels) and *The German Ideology* (K. Marx & F. Engels) defines *scientific socialism*. Workers in the RSA are without a vanguard and without a political party to represent their demands and interests; therefore, the mass-based continuous socialist education programme for workers is a priority. Contradictions, political cocoonism, obscurantism and apologia are capitalist ‘instruments’: Science and mathematics are bases for internalising *scientific socialism*, without which difficulties in understanding arise. Workers’ demands and interests are based on the experience of their material conditions and therefore it is powerful. The means employed by workers in the struggle to win their demands must justify the end, a classless society. Class distinctions (class discrimination) in the RSA serve to enslave workers, maintain their subservience and subjugation to capitalists. Bourgeois politicians fear scientific socialism; the most powerful instrument workers can use to defeat them.

Armed with scientific socialism and heightened socialist consciousness, workers will resist capitalist greed, authority, power and oppression. To capitalists, full employment and the right to work is a fallacy, a myth, a madness! The right to work is the driving force in attaining quality standards of social life, housing, living spaces, centres of learning, transport, IT centres, libraries, hospitals, all the requirements for a productive society. Workers must build such infrastructure and in the process, own it!

‘POVERTY TRAP’ – A CAPITALIST EXPRESSION

The expression ‘poverty trap’ misleads, for the following reasons; (i) it’s an expression of ‘capitalist’ making, confusing and unjustifiable, an invention created by the wealthy (ii) the expression is presented as a norm, not a long-term crisis, (iii) it a working class problem, not a capitalist one, (iv) it points out a ‘resultant’ of capitalist greed, (v) it’s one of this natural occurrences in life ... an ‘act’ of God and (vi) there is implication that poverty itself is a norm.

The aim of this chapter is to show critically how workers survive in the RSA’s post 1994 capitalist epoch. Here is an analogy. ANC members are driving in a bus manufactured by big business, supported by the WTO, the World Bank and IMF and a host of global entities. The President drives this bus. Behind the driver, in secondary position are the Alliance partners sitting smugly munching snacks produced by big business. They do odd jobs for the driver. The passengers in the bus are the elite, the upper and middle strata of the middle class. Workers have been excluded from boarding this bus, as per the Constitution (1996). The bus passes merrily along the highway, which at regular points are ‘bleeding’; pot holes are avoided and there are men at the side of the road seeking ‘day’ jobs, not far from a ‘township-camp’, which can be seen in the distance; the passengers notice what appears to be a demonstration going on and tyres have been set alight. Passengers are upset by the smell of rubber and plastic burning. The driver speeds pass the ‘township-camp’ and says to the passengers that things in the RSA are “not really like that”.

The RSA workers are trapped in this ‘new dilemma’ designed in 1994 by the imperialist friends of the ANC. Little

did we know that 1994 would usher in escalating inequality, poverty, joblessness, ill-health, racial policies to serve middle class expansion, municipal decline, structural barriers to equal education and so forth. Jobs are scarce and housing is a mess. In the analogy, several structural socio-economic aberrations surfaces, (i) class differentiation (ii) unemployment, (iii) poor schooling and related operating facilities, noting that government MP's send their children to model C and private schools, (iv) questionable housing, (v) erosion of personal safety, (vi) poor service delivery, (vii) unbearable liveability and (viii) barely existing transport system. The list is endless.

Schooling for the working class saw a messy decline. The middle class and lower middle class petty government officials drove the oppression of workers in the creation of a new normative for South Africa's solidification of the elite and upper middle class and creating a long term poverty trap. The Alliance remains silent on issues of poverty; hence, *poverty trap* is simply a lack of everything simultaneously and over the long term.

When workers become conscious of the social features of economic life in the 'new, rainbow' RSA and the role of the state in preserving a 'new found' bourgeois status quo, they had not a single agency to come to their rescue. The situation persists. The lives of workers and their children are negatively affected; the characteristics thereof are, (i) their exclusion from mainstream economic opportunity, (ii) the right to work is a clear, simple, universal demand, that requires expression, (iii) social progress is also a clear, simple, universal demand, that requires expression, (iv) workers must 'own' dignified, investment appropriate homes, built and designed in 'their' own way; (v) organised, empowered and enabled to manage and sustain their own communities, (vi) learning new skills in the process, (vi) learning to eradicate powerlessness and

political backwardness from their communities. The role of the Alliance, the proclaimed 'friends' of the workers, remains, (i) to strengthen their own middle class ranks, (ii) prevent the rise of independently organised workers, (iii) prevent the rise of an educated working class, (iv) to give support to the ANC as a 'pro capitalist' entity and (v) to prevent any revolutionary activity from below, such as a general strike through agitation for economic and political demands.

South African workers are heavily exploited via 'super and supra' profits being made on food, low wages, high transport cost, lack of free schooling, high fees charged by banks on workers' 'wage' accounts, high costs of housing and other items for having a normal life. Workers are alienated from the mainstream economy, from institutions of education, from lucrative jobs, from being represented in government on equitable bases, from art, travel, theatre, culture and literature, from quality liveability, from freedom of movement and from the freedom to organise and mobilise. These were the conditions during the Apartheid period. What has changed? For capitalists, the accumulation of wealth and property is an end in itself, no more and no less an ironical, pointless objective, an anachronism in an advanced socio-economic-technological milieu. The world has changed qualitatively since the days of Van Riebeeck, Columbus and General Custer!

When the 'right to work' is denied, workers are gripped in a position of subservience and inferiority vis-a-vis capitalist class domination, supremacy and strength; always begging for work, always slaves to minimum wage handouts, always dependent upon capitalists for work! The 'right to work' free workers in spirit, free workers from bondage, insecurity and gives workers confidence and a sense of belonging, to say 'I am productive: I contribute to economic growth in a dignified

manner'! In South Africa there is enough room for full employment and workers' dignity as a productivity factor! The 'right to work' free workers from abject poverty, squalor and backwardness. The only reason why workers are denied the 'right to work' in South Africa is because capitalists demand it!

The right to work is omitted from the Constitution (1996). Why so, one must ask? Has this been so structured (and institutionalised) by the authors of the Constitution to protect and preserve the capitalist system in both the public and private sectors? Yet, in every sector of the South African economy, there is so much that **MUST** be done, so many to be trained, so much to build, so many to be deployed to where skill is required. We know that the efficiency of the South African economy is at its weakest. With incompetent and visionless ministers at the helm of government, what is one to expect? Alienation from 'the right to work' implies discrimination, unfairness, exclusion and a denial of rights of contribution by individuals to a healthy society. Alienation, fragmentation and exclusion are tactics used against workers by the elite to retain ownership of capital, the factories, the banks, the farms, the properties, the private schools, et cetera. Expropriation, wealth accumulation and preservation are hallmarks of capitalism. The 'right to work' is not supported by the 'Alliance'. Super and supra profiteering, poor planning, poor management, deception, excessive private ownership of resources, wastage and wastefulness, stealing, corruption and greed prevents full employment and the right to employment. Scarcity is created, it does not exist naturally! Opportunities are *structurally* obtained by the wealthy and the middle class, not by workers sitting in a shack! Motivated by greed, class position and economic individualism, the intelligentsia, middle class stewards and elitists will not accept the concept of the 'right to

work'; to them it's a fallacy, a myth, only dreamers may conceive! Under capitalism, the profit motive is found in every part of the society, even in public schools, where up to 40 scholars are crammed into a class! The 'right to work' grants workers (i) a dignified life, (ii) an end to poverty and (iii) ability to plan a future! 'The right to work' is in essence bound to socialist morality and ethics.

Workers have the freedom of 'access to work'. The 'access to work' is a **crude** form of controlling the *creation* of jobs by capital and state. To someone without work the 'access to work' is sheer cruelty! One's personal security and wellbeing is continuously under threat from capitalists! Joblessness and starvation results from this crude form of control. An exploitative economy cannot function without skilled workers. Capitalism, because of innate greed and individualism, fears full employment in principle. Capital and state requires a cheap labour pool to keep wages low and to satisfy the whims of demand and supply of labour. But this system is fragile and easily fractured!

From inception, 1994, the ruling party failed to 'invest' in the working class. They did not (i) involve workers as equal participants in producing hospitals, schools, roads, transport systems, housing, clinics, sports halls, crèches, shopping centres, et cetera., (ii) invest in skills training programmes, (iii) invest in workers to build their own communities, and (vi) invest in safe environments in working class areas. A workers' party must therefore embark on these activities.

The South African government cannot be credited with political nor economic astuteness regarding the development of the RSA workforce. They can have done their best for the emerging middle class. What workers were granted was the Joe Slovo housing schemes and the Expanded Public Works

Programme (EPWP)! These ‘experimental’ schemes became ‘permanent’ in the South African scenario post 1994. The common thread is the extent the state would go to keep workers impoverished—both provide a mere daily lifeline—there are no opportunities for any measure of progress, opportunity or dignified life! Both schemes keep workers in a rut! Whereas the Joe Slovo house is not a house, the EPWP job cannot be said to be a job! It’s nothing but the states’ frivolous manner of conducting any meaningful way to advance the workforce. It’s a sheer demonstration of incompetence and lack of will!

Both schemes serve to dupe the most backward, uneducated, desperate and vulnerable sections of the working class into thinking that the state is acting in their interest. These schemes will have long-term negative impact on the citizens’ socio-economic life as well as the entire economy. Both schemes are imbued with indignity, disrespect, delusion and unsustainability, but more critically, the state has demoralised and undermined its primary resource, viz. its workforce. The characteristics of the EPWP are as follows:

- The likelihood of the EPWP to sustain workers ‘in their present socio-economic-educational condition’ is very high;
- The EPWP provides a *daily / short-term subsistence wage* which helps to feed, clothe and shelter workers. These jobs are hourly or of six months’ duration;
- The EPWP is incapable of addressing the socio-political-educational-economic-environmental-cultural-health and technological need of workers;
- The EPWP is a permanent (or short-term) scheme and hence it replaces structural, systemic, transformational and integrated long term solutions to full time real employment;
- The EPWP entrenches job instability and a fractured workforce, leaving the question of equity out to dry;

- While the EPWP has an empty underbelly, ‘the right to work’ demand should be placed on the agenda by workers;
- The EPWP exploits the cheap labour pool; and
- Corruption and unethical practices stemming from municipal and provincial government tenders issued, will inject further exploitation of EPWP casual labourers.

Upon seeing the ANC’s ‘a better life for all’ voting campaign posters for the first time, I was perplexed! ‘Township-camps’ and concentration camps share similar characteristics; (i) overcrowding, (ii) deprivation of social life, (iii) freedom of movement controlled by gang leaders, i.e. territorial control (iv) crime, (v) poor infrastructural services, (vi) high levels of poverty, (vii) ‘locked-in’ syndrome at night, (viii) aesthetic deficiencies, (ix) anti-social sub-culture of domination, (x) Americanised sub-culture, (xi) enormous pressure on family life (xii) deficiencies in all aspects of the socio-political-educational-economic-environmental-cultural-health and technological human development dimensions and (xiii) an utter lack of privacy. How will ‘a better life for all’ be achieved, we are not told? And where was this grand plan hidden? The argument that the ‘township-camps’ are not concentration camps smacks of middle class denial. Whereas ‘a better life for all’ is hurtful, shallow and evasive, the demand for a ‘raised quality of life’ and ‘dignified liveability’ is scientific and measurable. One may conclude that the ANC leadership had nothing better to offer; only an independent workers’ vanguard can place worker demands on the table, at a political level.

‘A better life for all’? One may study the present material conditions of workers twenty-eight years later, to see what the ANC had achieved. The elite are the owners of capital and therefore they do not need such a slogan. Other than the

empty slogans and catch phrases of the ANC, there was Marikana, the 'Zupta' treachery leading to economic collapse, SACP inertia and the Thatcherism of the Mbeki period.

The Alliance hid smugly behind the 'better life for all' slogan, shirking their responsibility for the advancement of jobs, political education and housing for South African workers. Scientific socialism demands the specific formulation of demands and interests, which includes 'measurable' criteria like timeframes and frameworks. Alas, the Alliance was indifferent to the plight of workers.

Quality of life refers to the tangible, specific goods and services such quality of food, quality education, dignified housing, recreation, public safety, health, jobs, transportation of people...and so forth. Quality of life also refers to the intangibles such as security, personal space, privacy, aesthetics, happiness and peace. Raising these 'qualities' implies improvement, enhancement and qualitatively acceptable liveability. Raising the quality of life is a socialist demand, as it is scientifically composed and quantifiable. A standard refers to a measure and level of performance and is mathematically based, set out by the relevant ISO. *Workers must be involved in adopting these standards so that it may be set free from control by the elite, academics and opportunists. The higher the standards achieved by communities, the higher their quality of life.* Resources are finite and if the state is delivering more resources to the middle class, than to the working class, then when will the workers realise the ANC's 'better life'? The working class of South Africa must embark on a mass-based permanent socialist education programme in order to raise class consciousness to the highest level. Only the workers' party can lead and in so doing bring about a raised quality of life over time. That is their political purpose and responsibility.

The demand for quality food: There is great discrepancy between what workers (and their children) are *compelled* to eat and what the wealthier classes (and their children) eat! The right to work is integrally tied to the demand for quality nutrition. Workers are malnourished as their diet is obfuscated (cheap, processed food with high starch, salt and sugar, preservatives, colouring, and chemical additives, obviously unhealthy and less nutritious). The elite eat the best fruit, food and vegetables on a daily basis; many working class families have nothing to eat at all.

The wealthy are well nourished and can therefore participate well in their socio-economic world of progress and bright futures. The states' euphemism, namely, 'food security' is much like the EPWP, an immoral decoy. 'Food security' can only be attained by the working class with workers themselves fully at the helm of economic control. Food production, preservation, distribution and sales should be of primary concern to workers. Food producers are profit driven and cannot care about workers' nutrition, resulting in a qualitative health difference between the wealthy and the poor. Only workers themselves can say *no* to 'discriminatory' food production. Capitalist food giants set the price of all foods high, at a level where middle classes and elite can pay comfortably. Workers do not own the production of food and hence cannot make demands for its quality and pricing.

The Alliance remain silent on these matters. Workers' rights regarding food is utterly annihilated. Small scale nationalisation of farms within national borders cannot be regarded as a sustainable solution to the food question. Only international worker controlled states can trade and supply food to one another so that food prices are kept low and poverty is addressed. Food has become the new weapon against workers

as they have the technology to destroy and contaminate world food supplies and water. In 2003, South Africa and Brazil joined the USA, China, Argentina and Canada as the top six growers of GM crops, such as soya. The 'food weapon' is securely in the hands of global capitalist powers, such as Monsanto, known for wiping out small scale subsistence farmers in India. To wrench power from the 'food' giants, workers must embark on struggle which begins with raising the political and class consciousness of workers regarding quality food production and food technology. Discrimination in food production and customer targets is a reality; not all food is manufactured in the same way as food is produced specifically for the wealthy outlets and another for the working class outlets; the phenomenon of food 'affordability' is therefore exploited in the name of maintaining huge profit margins.

Shops designed for the wealthy sell superior quality food to attract upper class customers. Workers generally don't eat or buy food at those shops, supposedly owing to class culture. A workers' party therefore need to examine and formulate demands based on, (i) food quality, (ii) food supply, (iii) nutrition programmes for children, (iv) food manufacturing controls considering health factors, (v) fresh produce markets, (vi) the control, ownership, and design of processed food, (vii) food pricing controls, (viii) food trade with international partners and (ix) the role of workers in food standards assurance.

The physical and psychological health of workers and their children is directly dependent upon the satisfaction of needs in each one of the socio-political-educational-economic-environmental, cultural and technological human development dimensions. A weak health service infrastructure, lack of nutrition, lack of housing and a lack of personal safety,

sanitation, water provision, clean environments, privacy, parks and recreation, employment, security and happiness, cannot promote satisfactory health conditions. These 'services' are interconnected. All human dimensions must be satisfied in achieving sound general health.

The cruelty and greed which drives capitalists to subject the working class to abject living conditions destroys all aspects of a workers' life. The quality of life of workers is paramount in the struggle against capitalist and state domination; hence too, a direct, negative impact on the economy becomes a reality. The demand for equity in social-health infrastructure and services by workers is a socialist demand. The 'poverty trap', or rather 'capitalist trap', must be understood in terms of these factors. The definition of 'poverty trap', as stated in capitalist-normative terms, is generally not suited to working class interpretation; workers therefore need to write their own definitions, which must correlate with their understanding, experience and demands.

9.

WORKERS AGAINST PARTY AND STATE

Why so many ‘micro’ socialist groupings in South Africa and why can’t they formulate common ground in the interest of worker demands, needs and expectations? There are socialists of all shades; from new-liberalist apologists to quasi-political analysts, arrogant ideologues, centrists, centralists, absolute opportunists, democratic socialists, smug socialists, foreign socialists and the SACP, the latter, being perfunctory socialists giving blind support to the Alliance. The ‘socialist’ paradigm in the RSA is a mess, owing to (i) the level of fragmentation, (ii) the level of mistrust and (iii) the level of stealth and duplicity between them.

What the ANC was before 1994 and what they are today, requires systemic analysis for the sake of raising working class consciousness. It is important for workers to be critical of the ANC and the Alliance partners, i.e. the ‘friends’ of the people. Smaller pro-capitalist parties are simply ‘aspirants’ of the larger ones and therefore cling to them for support, control and power over the working class. It is in the interest of workers that the various socialist groupings agree on (i) fundamental worker demands, (ii) an independent working class party of South Africa, (iii) how classless society is defined and shaped, (iv) how workers participate on economic policy matters, (v) how workers participate on legislative matters, (vi) the permanent political education of workers, in non-authoritarian and on-dictatorial manner. Needless to say, worker entities will redefine their relationship with the ANC or any other capitalist party. Such a measure calls on workers to be ideologically armed with a crystal clear programme of economic and political demands, a mass based permanent political education

programme and an independent political party of their making. The principles of engagement between parties and state must arise from a democratic, discursive and deliberative socialist scientific agenda and bases.

Socialist ‘centralism’, where a small group or single person calling themselves the ‘centre’ sits in position of control and authority, will lead to the destruction of the party and result in a ‘dictatorship’. Such a ‘*dictatorial*’ situation should be avoided. A socialist vanguard must lead ‘from below’, where the workers’ voice sets the tone for party decision making. Arrogant leaders who have stealthily built a cabal or clique to support their greed for control, will obliterate workers’ expectations and years of sound organisational work.

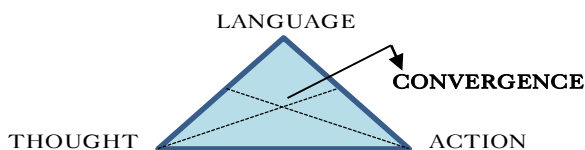
The ‘system’ which holds and supports party and state presently, is a bourgeois, imperialist, bureaucratic ‘top-down linear system’ driven by the objectives and principles of authoritarianism, hierarchy and a host of networked relationships subservient to capitalism. Present-day dictatorships are characterised by a hybrid of capitalism and ‘Stalinist socialism’, which defines its ‘anti-worker’ nature. Capitalism subsists in a complex system of ideological exchange, cooperation, collaboration and knowledge sharing between the party and state, naturally in their interest of retaining cheap labour exploitation. Two advantages arise for capital. *Firstly*, capital will negotiate terms with worker bodies cleverly, stressing that ‘their hands are tied’ owing to weak global economic trends. The fact that capital pays their top managers 300 times more than their workers, seem to be presented as a norm that worker representatives meekly accept. *Secondly*, because trade unions negotiate wage packages only, political issues, matters and human dimension concerns are not entertained in their arguments. Hence, trade union

representatives negotiate from points of weakness. The weak relationship between capital and workers is in the interest of capital, since they are allowed to dominate and win. If the weak relationship with capital favour workers and prevent capital from eye-washing worker representatives, then capital simply resort to stronger measures to secure their wins. Trade union negotiations can never claim a 'win-win' situation as the status quo for both parties always remain intact after negotiations have been concluded. At some point in worker advancement, workers need to muster their clout / temerity to press for demands relative to their socio-economic progress, wellbeing and in general, liveability; political demands CANNOT be expressed by trade unions! Because capitalism reside in bureaucratic systems which are close and fragmented and because workers demand open, interconnected and accountable systems, conflict is to be expected between the two parties. It is in this struggle that workers must maintain the moral high ground.

An aspect of worker education therefore must be government and governance 'systems' theory and practice, i.e. open, representative systems versus closed, authoritarian, bureaucratic systems. Such an education is rendered useless without a (i) permanent political education programme and (ii) clear set of demands based on the human development dimensions stated in (vi) below. Workers have the responsibility to oppose (i) low wages, (ii) excessive salaries paid to the top managers in state owned enterprises and private companies, (iii) the enormous drainage of financial resources resulting from corruption, middle class expansion and off-shore investments, (iv) non-accountability from parties and state, (v) high levels of corruption in service delivery through tenders awarded to the business class, (vi) the inequality of financial and material

investment in the socio-political-educational-economic-environmental-cultural-health and technological development of workers.

There is a perplexing, continuous phenomenon stirring in the Alliance, i.e. socialist rhetoric is infused with general ‘spin doctoring’ by government ministers and officials when appearing on the radio, at meetings and at rallies. It serves the purpose of confusing workers and providing the speaker with some form of pointless ‘presence’; unschooled workers are being misled and duped. The ‘Alliance’ top brass utilise phrases such as ‘socialism, the working class, proletariat, class struggle, the working class revolution, exploitation of the workers, intelligentsia’ and so forth, not only out of context, but also ‘outside of’ reality. The spin doctoring ‘concoction’ not only lower the morale of workers, but also raise the hopes of some; not only the language, but also the deed, is highly deceptive. It is difficult for workers to identify the ‘convergence’ of such murky rhetoric in material, tangible and nontangible terms. The convergence sought by workers is shown by the equilateral triangle below, of which *action* (and measurement thereof) and *evidence* are important identifiable outputs and outcomes, which workers need to evaluate relative to their demands.



Only analysis and critical questioning by workers will expose their cunning. On 18 January 2013, at the NUMSA National Congress, Comrade V called on workers to rally to the

‘Freedom Charter’ of 1955, a middle class programme directed specifically at the then Apartheid state. Comrade V said “Away with divisions, away with narrow factional battles of leadership, away with politics of the palace where the elite is battling against each other while side-lining the real interests of the people – we want the Freedom Charter”. The dire and serious misgivings of this call to unschooled workers, was tantamount to betrayal! Comrade V ‘knows’ that the Freedom Charter, abandoned by the state after 1994, was antiquated, inadequate and out of context with the times. He did not call for the dismantling of capitalism, rather he stated “Too many of our leaders stay in Sandton, in former whites-only suburbs, and a lot of them have become visitors to the theatre of the class struggle. They spend six to eight hours going back to the comfort that has been created by those bones falling from the table of the master, the capitalist system”.

One cannot turn middle class demands into working class demands! Accompanying this absurd rallying point, was a string of socialist terminologies bandied about (in the absence of an *actual* socialist party or socialist revolution). Workers listened respectfully while Comrade V sweated at the microphone. What exactly was gained? In this entire speech of about 6 or more pages the word *capitalism* appeared once and the word *capitalist* appears four times and not once in the context of denouncing capitalist relations of production.

The erroneous use of socialist rhetoric by party and state consorts does not invite debate and challenge from workers, for a number of reasons. Workers are left ‘dishevelled’ after listening to meaningless phraseology. Workers are not granted an opportunity to engage the speakers. Comrade V is tailor made in the Alliance... that is his nature; he chooses to be a ‘socialist’ of sorts when he addresses workers at rallies. That

is his career. Similarly, all the SACP 'leadership' behave in the same way.

In 1994, the ANC invited politicians from across a wide spectrum, even some of their opponents, to join their ranks. Few hesitated at the opportunity. The common denominator was the nature of the middle class intelligentsia *entryists* (see *The French Turn: Entryism*). It's fair to say that opportunists jumped at the chance to 'get onto the gravy train'. The whole drive was shameless. The working class was excluded; an analysis would be interesting in this regard.

The SACP's top leader, in the absence of (i) a workers vanguard, (ii) a worker's party, (iii) formulated worker demands, (iv) the 'right to work', (v) a permanent socialist education programme and (vi) worker programmes, had this to say at the Red October (SACP) campaign 2011; "It is only the workers and the poor themselves, in struggle and in solidarity with all other progressive forces that will consolidate and deepen our national democratic revolution, and advance the struggle for socialism in our country"; we "celebrate the heroic role played by our party in the national liberation struggle, and the role we continue to play in the reconstruction and development of our country. It is a celebration done in the best way we do as communists, to continue being in the trenches with the workers and poor of our country"; "The Red October Campaign has also been an important platform for the ideological development of SACP members, and generally to conscientise and mobilise the workers and the poor to be the makers of their own history. But that it is essential for the working class to take the lead on concretely what is to be done, through concrete actions and campaigns!"; "Since 1994, and especially since Polokwane, our country has made some important advances. Today we have an industrial policy, a

framework for a new growth path, a proposed NHI, amongst others, and our task should be on how we build on these, to continue to provide leadership in order to change the lives of millions of our people”. Notice too that he talks of the “workers and the poor”, utilising both socialist and capitalist rhetoric! Workers need to place such long-winded rhetoric under the microscope; so, in finite terms, what was said and how was it to be accomplished? When? By whom? With what instruments? More importantly was the significance of Red October for South African workers explained? Has Red October brought value to workers in South Africa in the past? Was the relationship between Red October and the Bolshevik revolutions (1905 and 1917) explained by the SACP speaker? Is Red October a western smokescreen to dupe workers?

What the South African workers *should have heard* the SACP’s top leader say was that workers of South Africa should (i) build an independent workers party of South Africa, (ii) build working class consciousness in order to formulate their own demands and write their own manifesto, (iii) embark upon a continuous socialist political education programme, (iv) interpret their demands in relation to the socio-political-educational- economic- environmental- cultural and health development of workers, (v) agitate for the right to work, (vi) agitate for the right to dignified liveability and (vii) agitate for the right to adequate quality housing. Action is born out of need, common-sense, scientific expediency, logical interpretation and political integrity. It is clear that such action cannot be expected from the ‘Alliance partners’, i.e. the ‘friends of the people’.

Education is catalytic. In capitalist society, education is divided along class lines with the upper strata getting the best thereof. The link between work and education requires a

revolutionary interpretation. The current system of education in the South Africa serves the elite, thus perpetuating class position, division and discrimination, which the ANC had created in 1994. For workers and their children, there arises the demand for quality education of universal proportion, fully achievable in classless society. Matters regarding work ethics, dignity of work, ending the monotony of work, increasing the scope and opportunities for learning in all fields, are worker demands. The insistence on universal education, high standards in labour relations, social benefits, social progress, preservation of social values, social goods, enhancement of workers lives in respect of all the socio-political- educational- economic- environmental-cultural-health-technological criteria, is what transforms society. Therefore, an educated working class will constitute a formidable force against quasi-socialists seated in government.

State officials can be portrayed as tycoons who surround themselves with plutocrats pilfering billions of Rands from the economy. Workers need to address this form of *lumpen* wealth appropriation by the plutocrats legitimised by state and party. Yes, they are robbing the RSA workers! There are huge deficits in schools, factories, universities, hospitals, health, infrastructure, energy, housing, recreation and other needs that are not addressed adequately by the state, as pertaining particularly to working class quality of life. The exploitation of state resources in this instance is covert, immoral and draining on workers' daily life. However, workers continue to vote the ruling party into power and perhaps that is the key purpose of the 'Alliance', i.e. the continued hoodwinking of the 'backward' masses, regardless of the socialist masquerading.

One wonders what happened to the private jet J G Zuma purchased; ministers use state funds for vacations; VIP

families and chiefs are supported financially and in kind to lavish life-styles; jetting, booking of hotels, dinners, cars, clothing, celebrations, commemorations to fatten bellies, huge unwarranted salary increases being the order of the day. Thus a **system**, no different from the one prior to 1994, is preserved. Under this **system** Comrade Andries Titane was given the ‘death sentence’ as was the 34 workers killed at Marikana, deaths of protesters at Mothutlung near Brits, Bekkersdal, Amplats Khuseleka mine, Damonsville; the lives of workers have become disposable. Reports such as the above have become the tapestry of South African life. Comrade Joseph Mathunjwa, president of the trade union AMCU, said “South Africa is becoming a fascist state, with the police using force to suppress protests” (City Press 6 Feb 2014). It is more than evident that the new ‘reactionary’ RSA ruling regime punishes protesting workers and silences their voices with the ‘death penalty’, while businesses thrive and support malevolent tycoons in the state. And many more Marikana’s will follow while the ANC or any other bourgeois party is in power!

What’s blunder to the workers is victory to party and state. The failed OBE, as related by William (Bill) Spady, USA inventor of OBE education system was welcomed into South African schools to the demise of working people’s children; untrained school governing bodies rubber stamped schools policies replacement for SRC’s; Comrade Chris Hani’s death smothered in clouds of dust; ‘learnerships’ replaced ‘apprenticeships’; Sharpeville Day and June16 replaced with more rubbish names; the switching of terminology from historical ‘May Day’ to insipid reactionary ‘Workers Day’ is a well-planned *apologia* sanctioned by the Alliance. There is a qualitative difference in the names (‘Sharpeville Day’ and ‘June 16th’) but more importantly, it indicates a political ‘shift’

from left to right, from *a luta continua* to *a luta traida*! As explained earlier, the ANC always was 'rightist'; it is only by assumption that they were accorded a 'leftist' branding.

Bold and blatant racist policies commanded middle class expansion; teachers, principals and school governing bodies bludgeoned politics out of schools; and what of the state of the economy, employment, delivery of services? No serious attempt was made by the state to extirpate crime from the working class 'township-camps' and schools.

The 'informal' gangster industry serves as a buffer between the wealthy elite and the workers. This strategy is held by the ruling elite to keep workers in a state of deprivation, having curtailed their freedom of movement, their freedom of speech and hence their right to free association, to become 'organised' and educated to improve their quality of life. Social progress comes to an abrupt halt. The 'informal' gangster industry takes control of neighbourhoods through the imposition of violence, fear, drug addiction, stripping away community security, personal safety and sporadic killing of citizens. The psychology of fear, lack of police support and poor material conditions hold workers in check, in the interest of the ruling elite, who regard the workers' situation as the norm. This phenomenon has become intractable. As a complex and *systemic* problem, only a workers' vanguard can find solution to it.

10

PHAMBILI RSA WORKERS!

Workers should not be impressed by the names of political parties. Names by itself can be meaningless and misleading. If someone makes reference to a Marxist or Socialist, it means nothing, until the skin is scratched and the true self or object is revealed! The name of the workers' party is guided and realised through its (i) dedications, commitments, demands and expectations of workers, (ii) economic and social programme (purpose), (iii) manifesto and (iv) embodiment of its public purpose. The workers' party of South Africa must therefore embrace (i) socialist-democratic principles, (ii) equitable, inclusive representation, (iii) working class ethics and morality, (iv) non-linear leadership and (v) bidirectional accountability, feedback, transparency, equity, equality and integrity. These political characteristics make a name meaningful.

Generating RSA workers' political ideology, class consciousness and socialist education, which have indigenous and global purpose, requires the workers' political will in the struggle for dignity, quality of life and socio-economic equity. It is important to extract the democratic principles from socialist reading, those applicable to workers' material conditions, demands and expectations. The ideology, vision and social purpose for the emergence of classless society must be embedded in the hearts and consciousness of workers; if compromised, the battle against capitalist greed cannot be won. RSA workers must acquire the strength and stamina to battle against (i) backwardness, owing to six decades of schooling deprivation, psychologically embedded blind spots and errors of thought: 'Backwardness' in this regard is cemented in each of the socio- political- educational- economic- environmental-

cultural, health and technological dimensions of worker's daily life, (ii) the legacy of 'baaskap' and inferiority left by the impact of Apartheid on the working class in the work place, (iii) the ideology of subservience, lineage, traditional leadership, patriarchy and tribalism (iv) setbacks to worker progress caused by their previous political affiliation, (v) the ideology of capitalism and middle class values, (vi) the daily expectations of the ruling elite, (vii) the absence of an independent workers party of South Africa, (viii) exclusion from active participation in conferences, lekgotlas, indabas, national meetings, economic policy debates, decisions made by social services and housing government departments, et cetera and (ix) wastage, corruption, patronage in the ruling party which depletes South Africa's scarce resources owned by citizens.

Worker organisation, education and class consciousness are three essential pillars of the workers' movement. The ANC, in the years prior to 1994, contained in its underbelly the traits of duplicity, a top down culture of communication, hierarchical control, unscientific employ of non-materialist, quasi socialist rhetoric, shaky political ideology and a code of silence and avoidance on worker demands. The ANC had in their favour, the winning formula ... they were all things to all people and shades, populist, capitalist, socialist, radical, progressive, secular and tribal. From 1976 – 1994, the masses were 'on the move' under the salient watch of the ANC. What's the point being made? Precisely because of the ANC's indecisive ideology and opportunism in political direction, supported by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and recognising the rapid obliteration of Comrade Chis Hani (1993) by the rightists, the ANC was well on their way to earn respectability from the global magnates of capital. Thus, a chosen few became overnight billionaires! What occurred in 1994 was heralded and applauded by the top global

magnates (G20). It was a year that ushered in the ‘rags to riches’ story for the ANC top brass; it was a Jekyll and Hyde marvel of good triumphant over evil. Quickly big brother USA was embraced as they had more ‘offers’ than was required (intelligence, capital, markets in the RSA, training, et cetera.) to assist the ANC in assuming the joysticks of power. Hence the killing of Comrade Chris Hani was reduced to a matter of ‘petty’ speeches by the Alliance.

It is untrue to claim that prior to 1994, the working class had an identifiable, tangible, ‘socialist’ political purpose, programme or developed class consciousness. The workers were lost souls pussyfooting to the ANC and Alliance during the last three decades. One must take cognisance of the USA’s *global destabilising* and *bullying* policies and ‘*military power-fascist*’ machinery over the years; given the virtual extirpation of its 568 indigenous tribes, it is able to activate the fight against ‘terrorism, socialism, communism, fundamentalism’, whatever name is the flavour of the day. It is important for the RSA workers to examine the cost of the ruling parties’ willingness to concede to USA dictates, relative to USA interests in the RSA, directly or indirectly. The cost to the RSA workers were catastrophic! It comes as no surprise that the ‘wealth’ trajectories of prominent ANC ministers who constituted government in 1994, were pointed sharply upward!

The USA achieved its agenda in the RSA. The workers did not! Hence the reckless import by the ANC of the USA’s failed ‘affirmative action’, BBBEE and ‘OBE’ policies! Prior to 1994, the ANC had established ties with Angola, Cuba, Russia, China et cetera. After 1994 this ‘friendship’ shifted heavily towards the UK and USA. The ANC had no choice but to ‘bend the knee’ to the USA. In so doing, the ANC was compelled to oppress the working class of the RSA, as bourgeois tradition

demanded from them.

The *chameleon* nature of the ANC poses a danger to the working class movement in the RSA. The ANC has become blind to its future; it sees only the current and narrow interests it places on the table and it will consume any progress made by the working class. It is wishful thinking that an elitist ‘top-down’ plan such as the National Development Plan (NDP 2011) *would catch to tinder* at any time soon. Can anybody explain why workers were *excluded* in the drafting of the NDP 2011?

The power of utilising openness, engagement, deliberation, transparency, integration, fairness, collaboration and integration lies with the workers of the RSA; the ruling elite will not consider the employ of such ‘developmental’ elements as it is not in their interest to do so! They prefer divisive ploys such as racism, class and caste discrimination. The ruling party will use *any* means available to achieve their ends, i.e. greed.

Socialist democratic ideals counteract capitalist democratic ideals, as these systems are *systemically* different, i.e. diametrically opposite. Capitalism is class exploitative, whereas a classless society demands equity in principle, in the determination of resources distribution and liveability. i.e. in all of the socio-political-educational – economic – environmental – cultural – health and technological dimensions of human life. Capitalism, as explained previously, alienates workers in every form of economic life. A socialist ideology is shaped by the desire and demands of workers to build an open society, free from exploitation, discrimination, irrational and unfair distribution of wealth oppression, poverty, degradation and inhumanity. Classless society inhibits the excessive accumulation of wealth. Capitalist sceptics and quasi socialists will call these demands unattainable or utopian. However,

socio-economic and educational *systemic* transformation will naturally engender resistance from capitalists. The only form of equitable existence, the logical next social form after degenerate capitalism, is socialism. An independent workers' party need to ratify the following demands as worthy and befitting of their programme and manifesto:

- *The right to work;*
- *The right to protect and utilise natural resources and the environment.*
- *The right to share equally and fairly in the wealth extracted from the country's natural resources;*
- *The right to an open, classless, non-discriminatory society;*
- *The right to quality, dignified housing;*
- *The right to quality food;*
- *The right to quality health, safety, security and peace;*
- *The right to universal, quality education, information and technology;*
- *The right to shape and implement economic policy;*
- *The right of all citizens to progress equally in the socio-political-educational-economic-environmental-health-cultural and technological dimensions of life;*
- *The right to participate in the appointment of state officials; and*
- *The right to recall state officials.*

The science of socialism, like any science, has its bases, principles, logic, imperatives and applications. *Scientific socialism* is a means to an end, the end being (i) to win the twelve rights outline above, (ii) to raise working class consciousness to its highest level, (iii) the adoption of a permanent political education programme and (iv) the forging

of the workers' party of South Africa for the establishment of classless society. The political and intellectual development of workers guarantees an end to capitalism, as it guarantees (i) equitable distribution and utilisation of resources for the benefit of all citizens, i.e. the right to work, (ii) an educated workforce, (iii) equal society, (iv) an end to poverty, (v) an end to homelessness and poor quality housing, (vi) free, equal, universal, quality education for all citizens, (vii) an end to gangsterism and (viii) the inception of a free, balanced society for all to be part of. The ownership of the means of production by workers pronounces the end to the excessive wealth accumulation by a minority of elitists; similarly, the hoarding of surplus wealth cannot be acceptable in a balanced society when (i) the pointlessness thereof has not been demonstrated and (ii) in the face of poverty and backwardness.

SUMMARY

The 'township-camp' is a symbol of working class humiliation. Living under such conditions cannot be justified; it is unconstitutional as it strips away any chance of the *whole development* of adults and children. South African workers have objected via service delivery uprisings since 1994, but the elite and the middle classes have been inert and silent on serious questions facing the country's socio-economic bog.

The struggle for a classless society is justified. Workers in South Africa experience *exclusion*, on all fronts and in all the dimensions of human life. Workers are denied the most basic opportunities to dignified life, in the country of their birth! Workers must forge an independent worker's party and be part of the global socialist movement. This party will initiate the permanent, mass-based political education programme of the workers and raise class consciousness in order to defend the workers' demand and needs. The domination and greed of the elite and their appendages, must be challenged, denounced and held in check, in favour of an equitable and balanced society.

Advancements made under capitalism in all spheres of industry, by people's organisations, in academic research, in the protection of natural resources, should serve to advance a classless society and equity in daily socio-economic relations between citizens. The battle against the pointless accumulation of land and monetary wealth by a few, at the expense of the majority, is gaining international support. Wealth, resources, voice, visibility, dignified liveability, opportunity and social progress have been usurped by the elite and the middle class from the workers for almost a century. Workers have the political responsibility to deal with the crisis, by applying the best means available to them to achieve their ends.

SOUTH AFRICA POST 1994

**KILLING
WORKING CLASS
CONSCIOUSNESS**



BOOK TWO

IN THE WORDS OF LEON TROTSKY

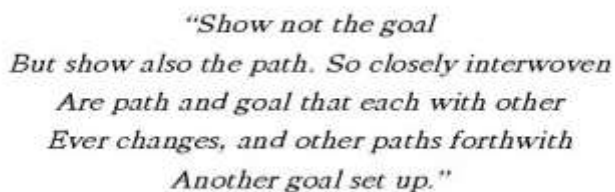
“During an epoch of *triumphant reaction*, Messrs. Democrats, social-democrats, anarchists, and other representatives of the ‘left’ camp begin to exude double their usual amount of *moral effluvia*, similar to persons who perspire doubly in fear. Paraphrasing the Ten Commandments or the Sermon on the Mount, these moralists address themselves not so much to triumphant reaction as to those revolutionists suffering under its persecution, who with their ‘excesses’ and ‘amoral’ principles ‘provoke’ reaction and give it moral justification. Moreover they prescribe a simple but certain means of avoiding reaction: it is necessary only to strive and morally to regenerate oneself. Free samples of moral perfection for those desirous are furnished by all the interested editorial offices”.

“The conception that Stalinism and Trotskyism are ‘essentially’ one and the same now, enjoys the joint approval of liberals, democrats, devout Catholics, idealists, pragmatists, and anarchists. If the Stalinists are unable to adhere to this ‘People’s Front’, then it is only because they are accidentally occupied with the extermination of Trotskyists”.

“Democracy and ‘generally recognized’ morality are not the only victims of imperialism. The third suffering martyr is ‘universal’ common sense. This lowest form of the intellect is not only necessary under all conditions but under certain conditions is also adequate. Common sense’s basic capital consists of the elementary conclusions of universal experience. Under a stable social milieu common sense is adequate for bargaining, healing, writing articles, leading trade unions, voting in parliament, marrying and reproducing the race. But when that same common sense attempts to go beyond its valid limits into the arena of more complex generalizations, it is exposed as just a clot of prejudices of a definite class and a

definite epoch”.

“Dialectic materialism does not know dualism between means and end. The end flows naturally from the historical movement. Organically the means are subordinated to the end. The immediate end becomes the means for a further end. In his play, *Franz von Sickingen*, Ferdinand Lassalle puts the following words into the mouth of one of the heroes:”



*“Show not the goal
But show also the path. So closely interwoven
Are path and goal that each with other
Ever changes, and other paths forthwith
Another goal set up.”*

“

Their Morals and Ours. In memory of Leon Sedov. The New International Vol. IV(6). June 1938 (pages 163-173).

LET'S MAKE THIS POINT ...

Killing working class consciousness, utilises a central theme composed of nine chapters, which is intended for open debate, both discursive and deliberative, among workers, on how worker consciousness is stymied, suppressed and smudged on a daily basis, by forces intent on retaining the status quo and the subjugation of workers in South Africa, in their dismal state of poverty and political indecision and rudderlessness.

Arguments are put forward for the development of heightened class consciousness among workers, so as to formulate a dialectical approach against the onslaught from rightists, the opportunistic 'left', the so called 'comrades' of the people, the government, local and international capital giants.

Book two deals with the serious and urgent need for a workers' approach to critically address issues relating to the media, racism, gender, education, municipal councillors, and political astuteness, among others; to place before workers, the need to be involved in the issues and socio-economic constructs that serve to keep them in a perpetual state of 'backwardness'. Workers should advance towards being involved in the critical aspects of South African society, i.e. to grow and practice capability in addressing the media, quality education, food production and distribution and quality of liveability (housing, environment, healthcare, education, teenage safety and activity, amenities), among others; their time has come. Workers should advance towards spearheading both discursive and deliberative debate between themselves and the rest of society, as it pertains to these issues. Workers must be cognisant of the fact that class discrimination impacts heavily on each of the socio-political-educational – economic –cultural–environmental–psychological–health and technological 'developmental' aspects of their daily lives. These domains of the workers' life are constantly thrashed

and stripped of opportunities for equality, equity, a quality life, wellbeing and social progress.

Demands relative to these critical aspects of human life cannot be realised if workers do not possess direly needed democratic rights, such as *the right to work* and *the right to dignified* housing. The need to develop class consciousness is necessary to forge ahead in the battle for classless society, equity and equality. The battle for emancipation from capitalist control and subjugation is the workers' right; this goal is interconnected with ending the unequal prevailing conditions of life and senselessness of capitalist purpose. Hence the necessity for an independent political education programme and an independent workers political party.

Infrastructure and cities in South Africa abound as elitist and middle class utilities: Homes, hospitals, quality schools, universities, libraries, theatre, art facilities, recreation, parks and business facilities. Workers in South Africa are excluded, on more than just the economic basis, from partaking and enjoying mainstream activities. Such levels of socio-economic inequality are not facilitatory in creating a dynamic economy; it is tied more to stagnation, inertia, imbalance and economic decline. Hence capitalism remains fractured and congested with contradiction, in spite of its 'apparent' resilience.

Clearing political errors of thought, political blind-spots and interpreting the Constitution (1996) with a fine-tooth comb, are first steps in understanding how and why these demands must be achieved. An educated and politically astute working class is a formidable instrument for facing the bullying ruling class and the elite, as well as being the means to achieving its objectives.

The dominating classes would like workers to believe that it is the norm for them to live in 'township-camps' and 'flats' where their lives are torn apart by gross adversity, exclusion and

poverty. While workers recognise these conditions as indicators of gross exploitation and unfairness, they continue to support the ruling party in their elections. The power held by the working class is yet unrefined, yet untapped, yet unleashed. The dominating classes continue to rejoice in their post 1994 nuisances, the majority whom are enjoying closeted and lucrative state employment. But their lifestyle too is appended by structural economic fractures and fragilities. The dominating classes in South Africa are supported by the reciprocity between the ANC, SABC, Alliance, big business, UK, USA, EU and locally by the provision of sterile mass-based education and through the erosion of quality of services to workers in the 'township-camps'. Social and political relations between parties, government and the people are shattered, splintered; one may argue that the RSA government and ruling elite have settled into world of uncertainty and unpredictability.

INTRODUCTION

There are many instances in our lives when people familiar to us, like our parents, teachers, siblings, lecturers, friends and role models, opened our minds to significant teachings; some changed the direction of our socio-political ideology, started us on new career paths and new interests and skills. With that came renewed energy. The drive to accomplish new things are born and found within us and gives us new incentives to commence long term journeys of learning, gaining insight, experience and finally, fulfilment.

Books, articles and position papers, are indispensable to learning. Reading the revolutionary works of K Marx, F Engels, V I Lenin, L Trosky, N Chernychevsky, A Lunacharsky *et. al.*, are considered an indispensable learning experience. Some would be satisfied with the mediocre, the ordinary, the commercial, the simple and their lives would hardly change at all! They would be doing and thinking the same things for the decades to come! A bird like *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* would spend hours in the sky perfecting each dive and turn with mathematical precision while others spend their lives feeding. Like *Jonathan*, many people dedicate their lives to a cause; to some their cause might seem noble and yet to others, it is deemed detrimental to society; one will not know, unless one is involved experientially.

South African workers, deprived of political education for over three generations, require incentives for learning in order to realise that they cannot escape their misery by adopting the values and standards of the middle and upper classes of the South African society. Workers' values are radically and qualitatively different from the frail, pointless values of the upper strata of South African society. And yet, the upper strata

welcomes workers to regard their values and morality as superior to that of workers, but would be reluctant to share their wealth, land and opportunity. Only the organised working class can obliterate the foolish world of the wealthy, by levelling the playing field, through the establishment of a classless society, i.e. through the fulfilment of the historical purpose of the working class struggle.

The following nine chapters intend to rouse and rake rationale for the *killing of working class consciousness*, subtly, by the elite and their middle class tagalongs. While they aim to develop their class position, they will not condone the same for the working class. The wealthy expect and desire the ‘admiration and envy’ the working class has for their material status; but those ‘apparent’ norms are built on supposition and shaky ground; workers must therefore define their morals and values; it cannot be the same given that the working class experience is built from brutal relationships with those who appropriated the nations’ resources (land, people and wealth). No doubt, one will find workers who are prepared to be kicked by the “jackboot of oppression” just to realise later, that nothing could be gained from it!

The *killing of working class consciousness* by the middle and upper strata is in the interest of the survival of the ruling class. A careful study of the Constitution (1996) and the Bill of Rights will show bias for elitist liveability. The Bill of Rights did not apply at Marikana, or at the thousands of protests for basic services. The Bill of Rights does not apply when people are without jobs, food, clothing and shelter. The Constitution (1996) does not provide the right to work. Upon this premise, one may argue that the Constitution (1996) has been written for the elite, by the elite. Can one claim that the government of South Africa is accountable only to the owners of wealth? It seems so. Is there evidence that the government

of South Africa is accountable to workers? It seems not. A study on corruption in the South African government will show that only the plutocrats benefitted from money that was meant for working class development. The South African government and the Alliance are unaccountable, inert and unsympathetic to the plight of township-camp inhabitants; can there be any other reason for the killing of working class consciousness and expanding state bureaucracy, authority, power and dominance?

While the wealthy eat good quality breads, cheese, butter, cakes and now, 'organic' food, workers eat a huge amount of processed food contaminated with preservatives, salt, sugar and sold at high prices! The privileged live in warm, spacious, secure comfortable houses, with garages, saunas and large gardens, et cetera. All these pleasures are enjoyed by the wealthy (the most important being top class education) in a society torn apart by inequality, waste and surplus (over-accumulated) wealth. South African workers are living in abject poverty and under horrible conditions. Workers have much to do to change the status quo, to change the system and to change the class structure. Class distinction and class discrimination can only be destroyed if the capitalist system is destroyed. But, in order to preserve and entrench class differences, the dominating class *kill* all attempts by the workers to raise their class consciousness!

The state, 'Alliance', business and the existing political parties, can therefore, suppress the development of working class consciousness, or when necessary, violently crush their initiatives. Developing working class consciousness is seen as an act of treason against the state! *It is therefore contradictory to claim that poverty, deprivation and discrimination can be resolved equitably within the domain of capitalist social relations, where two incompatible and irreconcilable socio-political systems co-exist in tension and imbalance.*

RACISM, STEREOTYPING AND PREJUDICE

Racism, stereotyping, phenotyping and prejudice are means employed by the ruling class (only essential in this context) to achieve their ends, i.e. to suppress the generation of working class consciousness. Why in a post-colonial era do people still refer to themselves as black (in the RSA) or 'afro' American (USA)? Of what empirical significance is skin colour to social wellbeing, social progress and balanced social relations? All the answers that surface, indicate that bits and pieces of modern day socio-political-economic thought is infused with antiquated colonial period ideology, simply one of many ruling class ploys used to destroy and clutter the *common sense* of workers! Racism, stereotyping and prejudice should have been chucked out with the Apartheid garbage in 1994! Why do we still hang on to it in the present? Are South African workers in need of it?

People are seen, rated, classified and judged by their phenotype and skin tone, in terms of being primarily black, brown or white, not green, nor yellow, nor blue or pink! Why is a specific class proliferating these adverse mental constructs? What is the point of it? In the advancing technological revolutionary era, we judge our fellow beings by the colour of their skin? Is the reference to skin colour a divisive socio-political ideological instrument used by the ruling elite to entrench a divided society? Is the South African ruling class copying their colonial masters to preserve a retrogressive status quo? Certainly not in the interest of building universal working class consciousness!

The ANC and all other South African political parties and state institutions suffer the same blind spots! They even have a BBBEE Act, an American import! They do not object to

racism in our society but accuse each other of it from time to time! There is a sickness about their double standards! One can understand someone calling an apple red or the sky grey, or a building white. Surely Africans do not have the skin pigment of the Finnish. Surely the Finnish do not have the skin pigment of Indians, Africans or Peruvians. Wherein is the justification for referring to a citizen as 'black, white or brown' when such a phenomenon is obvious! And why is knowing someone's' skin colour so fundamental in our society? What is the point and epistemological significance?

The ruling party should have addressed the question of racism empirically in the post 1994 era. But that was not forthcoming. Surely here is an opportunity for integrated and interdepartmental cooperation, collaboration and regulation.

The Chinese don't refer to themselves as yellow; USA citizens *enjoy* the reference to 'white' and 'black' as we glean from the media. The Russians, French, Polish, Swedes, *et al.* do not refer to themselves by their skin tones. In Japan, well, I would not expect so. But in South Africa, the colour of our skins determine our social relations, prejudice, our job opportunities, where we reside, how we judge each other, wages, political opportunities and a host of socio-economic and educational constructs. Would there be a reason for Putin or Merkel to refer to themselves as 'white'?

Indigenous South African and Africans who own brown and dark brown pigmentations refer to themselves as 'black' and thus a norm is born! But does such a norm have any socio-political- economic and ideological value? However, those who have pale pigmentations dare not refer to themselves as 'white' in South Africa! That would be seen as racist! Somewhere principles are being confounded! But indigenous South Africans refer to themselves as 'black'. Radio SAFM is the best example for churning out the term 'black' daily. Could

this be an element of growing 'black' nationalism, in the past tradition of 'white' Herrenvolkism? Such hypocrisy!

The workers of South Africa cannot refer to themselves by racist terminology. This would militate against the ideology of scientific socialism and internationalism. What is important to workers is classless society, world view, equity, social progress, social capital, dignity, respect, political freedom and the right to work. Where in the spectrum of scientific socialism is the need to refer to oneself by the colour of one's skin? What benefits would it bring? What value does it create for people? Wherein lies its value for the international fraternity of workers?

Let's ponder a mock situation. A teacher states; Robert is 'white'; Peter is 'black'. To state such a lesson each day, repeatedly, will eventually lead to the realisation of its absurdity, blatant racism and pointlessness. On a global note, the reference to skin colour is a known absurdity! This principle applies in all cases as the empirical basis is the same. Why is the South African situation so unique? Because the 'new' middle class prefers it so? And for that reason all South Africans must adopt racist terminology? Where is the common sense? Pointlessness equates with superfluousness and anti-empiricism! To indulge it, fixatedly, turns one into a fool.

The term 'black' became the norm in the USA, utilised by the pioneers of systemic slavery, who also wiped out 568 indigenous Indian tribes, whom they called 'red indians'! When people were stolen from Africa, the thieves held the power of the gun, the whip and the 'good' book. Many derogatory terms were used to belittle the slaves. 'White' skins became synonymous with thievery, power, wealth (whichever way it was accumulated), baasskap and supremacy, while 'black' Africans became synonymous with idiocy, stupidity, worthlessness and a host of other words that was suitable for

their systemic domination. Thus, in the USA, a socio-economic and ideological 'exportable' construct was born to shape the social landscape to the benefit of the settlers; the social pattern of stereotyping and prejudice commenced in the early 17th century, which prevails to this day! OBE, BBBEE, affirmative action and racial terminology such as 'black' are all USA imports! *Be reminded, we are in the RSA, not the USA!*

The ideology of race, stereotyping and prejudice entrenched the norms and expressions used by the colonialists! Why are we clinging to it? Many of the norms and ideologies we embrace in the modern era, have colonialist roots, such as 'white' supremacy, land ownership, opening of parliament, parliamentary rules, racial discrimination, exploitation of ethnicity, kingdoms and royalty, language preference, hierarchy, bureaucracy, autocracy, bowing to the Queen of Britain, as many in the South African leadership did prior and post 1994. On the social level, colonialist 'means of exploitation' during early capitalism, may be identified in the variety of churches, deaconship (cf. Nosipho Majeke, i.e. Dora Taylor's writings), racial and social profiling, stereotyping, class division and social division. On the economic level, we can identify colonial features of control in the EU, UK, USA, the World Bank, IMF and WEF; observe who owns the JSE and the local economy. Many political leaders dance for the joy of capitalism; but what is good for the dominating classes, is not good for the South African workers.

Symbols of Parliament (the mace and black rod) date back to the British Empire, an expression of their power and wealth over their 'subjects'; opening of parliament and the gala dress parade depicts colonialist culture of opulence; bureaucratic and ministerial expansion, perpetuated by the ANC regime and many of the statutes of 'Westminster' tradition, dating back to 1931 and to the Union of South Africa.

To the bourgeois this is exuberance. To workers it is exclusionary and disempowerment. The only scientific merit (value) of practicing colonial ideology of race, stereotyping and prejudice is that it serves as instruments of exploitation and theft of rich resources from foreign lands and at home. A victory by the worker's movement for the ownership of the means of production and for the establishment of classless society will end the colonial ideology of race, stereotyping and prejudice; these mechanisms will no longer bear any purpose. There is no scientific / empirical purpose for these practices in a socialist regime. They serve no point as citizens' work towards the common good of all, equity and equality.

The RSA ruling party is trapped by the remnants of colonialism, tribalism, loyalty to imperial masters, patriarchy, autocracy and ancestral lineage. These idiosyncrasies are branded in the South African government. Now, lack of moral purpose, corruption, racial stereotyping and prejudice has crystallised in the corridors of power. The RSA ruling party is incapable of advancing development through the integration of *processes, people and purpose*. Instead, the RSA state is expanding bureaucracy, the middle class and running the country into debt to imperialists (\$136.6 Billion or 38.2% of GDP. J Colombo, Forbes, as at 3/19/2014).

Xenophobia is the ultimate form of racial discrimination and surfaces in the RSA from time to time. The state proved its inertia on xenophobia, regarding it as a 'spontaneous' problem, as is all the other recent deaths at the hands of police reaction. In 1994, the RSA retained the apartheid practices of naming citizens by the colour of their skin; hence we have categories of 'black, white, Indian, Asian and coloured' citizens post 1994. More ridiculous is the empty and sterile phraseology of reference to 'rainbow people'. The obsession with the colour of ones' skin is unscientific, counter-

revolutionary and utterly divisive. Extending the construct further, the practice would differentiate between the Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, Pedi, Malay, Jew, Afrikaner, English and so forth. The RSA ruling party justifies the employ of racist terminology by using unscientific arguments, which carries no means or ends for its elucidation or explication!

Ethnicity is to be respected for its cultural, artistic and traditional values. The cultural, religious, spiritual and social attributes of public 'expression' have positive manifestations in a diverse society and should be respected by citizens. But what value is it to workers to define a group of people in terms of their phenotypes or skin colour? The spirit of the Equity Act stands in contradiction to the act of ethnic labelling in *everyday* South Africa and in terms of its formulation. Racism, racist terminology and racial consciousness has no place in scientific socialism; the employ of racist terminology indicates 'blindness' to prevailing racial consciousness, as a norm.

The RSA jobs market is heavily imbued with 'racist' Affirmative Action policies, the extension thereof being nepotism, favouritism and highly skewed human resources functions. The entire socio-economic and educational arena in the RSA is imbued with 'racial' ambiguity. For the middle class this arrangement works well; for workers it means alienation and exclusion. The ANC has therefore maliciously injected dysfunctional and negative elements into the economy with the BBBEE policy and affirmative action, rubbish the RSA has no need of, since indigenous South Africans were in the majority, in terms of population figures. The implementation of racist statutes and policy is retrogressive and irresponsible. Its sole purpose is to expand and grow a large section of the 'emergent' middle class. Racial terminology equates with 'errors of thought' and 'skew' interpretations of social phenomena (consciousness) which serves to entrench negative social values.

Workers gain no value from racism in practice or in principle. The use of racist terminology diminishes opportunities for building national and international pride, social identity, cohesiveness and unity. Racism forces antagonisms between citizens, ethnic groups and blunts the beauty of cultural diversity in the RSA. Racism confounds arguments, policies, laws, social and didactics to a point of absurdity.

The BBBEE Act, racial quotas in the workforce and the 'Affirmative Action' policy has provided smokescreens and ploys engineered by 'closed', cosmetic, innovative-less, internally focussed stratagems. It has generated no positive results and legacy on the South African 'productivity' landscape, save to retain and maintain a blunt and sterile colonial practice. A key danger of 'racism' in practice is that a society that has just emerged from 40 years of racist rule looks to its future despondently. The wealthy ruling class may not be directly affected as the social relations of production in the RSA are largely operating along old racial lines. For the working class it means that (i) racism is retained and (ii) that the state had capitulated to the conservative Afrikaner and American dictum of 'working class exclusion' from the economic mainstream.

Workers have no option but to denounce racism wherever it takes root. Racism, tribalism and patriarchy are employed to smother internationalist and universal consciousness; it cocoons thought and hence action on major socio-economic and educational issues. Moreover, these negative political constructs allow a certain 'vanguard' of ruling elite to tighten their grip on state power, leadership (at any cost and calibre) and control in the realisation of '*their*' wish-list. We know that this line of thought is correct simply because people who do not aspire to respect ruling party conservative 'constructs' are shot upon and killed. Historically, *power mongers* have turned to the army and the police to suppress the

development of the working class. By early 2021, one could examine the tension and fractures within the ruling party, i.e. the ANC. The time is ripe therefore for the RSA workers to establish a working class party of South Africa.

Where is the consistency regarding the naming of RSA citizens? The Constitution (1996) refers to its people as citizens and natural and juristic persons; The Employment Equity Act (1998) labels 'black people' as Africans, coloured and Indians; The BBBEE Act (2003) refers similarly while the Labour Relations Act (1995) refers to members of the working class as employees and workers. The 'Alliance' therefore knowingly promotes the ideology of 'blacks' through its policies, thus allowing the entrenchment of colonialist-racist ideology in government. Only when the workers' political consciousness is developed, will they be able to resist the meaningless jargon spouted by the Alliance partners. Workers should ask how 'legitimate' the BBBEE Act is to South African workers; also, how *inclusive* and *participatory* the BBBEE Act is to workers needs and expectations. But surely, RSA workers don't need this Act. The permanent workers' political education programme requires a scientific approach to ethnic labelling in South Africa. When Thabo Mbeki said "I am an African" in his famous 1996 speech, he received abundant applause! What if he had said "I am a worker" or more honestly, "I am a capitalist" or more accurately, "I am a Thatcherite"? What did he actually mean when he said he was an 'African'? Nobody bothered to ask? Why not 'South African'? Was he taking South Africa forward into democracy or backward into 'African nationalism'? What was the meaning of the applause? Mbeki defined himself in 'non-universal' terms; emanating from socialist roots, he should have said "I am an internationalist!" We have to criticise the rhetoric of the 'leadership' in order to scientifically comprehend their political ideology. Why did the

UK and the USA love this statement? And the bourgeois media loved it too! But what was gained by the RSA workers? A paradox (oxymoronic) yes, similar to an Indian in India declaring, “I am an Indian”! Black consciousness is not working class consciousness, simply because the international working class is not comprised of only one nation. In fact, one may conclude that Mbeki’s utterance, while appearing to be clever, was in fact obfuscating working class importance as an integral economic resource, i.e. labour! Was the ANC leadership and the Alliance ‘selling out’ to the capitalists and imperialist ‘big boys’? And did they welcome Mbeki’s opening remark, laden with racial undertones? Why?

One cannot build a nation on the premises of Africanism, save to entrench its colonialist ideology. For the RSA working class, the entire incident was worthless save to state that workers should aspire to an Africanist identity, in so far as it has anthropological purpose and support for the current economic-political values and status quo. Mbeki had no intention of promoting socialist-internationalist values and workers’ wellbeing when he stated: “I am an African”! What it really meant was that he gave his soul to the betterment of the *African* middle class. He, by declaring “I am an African”, he, in fact, meant that he was an “African Thatcherite”!

A universal / internationalist agenda for personal freedoms and human rights should assume priority. South Africa is no different from any other country in the grip of ideological wars against capitalism and its *particular* brand of capitalist democracy. The employ of racist terminology, i.e. racist ideology as a social norm, is an indicator of racist practice and thought. This is precisely what a workers’ vanguard wishes to guard against, as a factor militating against worker ideology, ethics and morality and as debilitating in building working class consciousness.

SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLING BETRAY WORKERS!

Early in the 1970's, 'progressive' educationists and liberal intelligentsia in South Africa coined the slogans 'the right to learn' and 'people's education', among others, to initiate change from the Apartheid education system to 'universal' education free from the Christian National Education (CNE) attributes and its racist prescriptions. Liberal middle class 'educationists' did their best to join the ANC; they were not supportive of a genuine workers' struggle. While it was not openly announced, these middle class 'educationists' of various shades, promoted a middle class '*education*' agenda. They wished to satisfy the whims and dictates of the ANC, represented then by N Pandor. In fact, after 1994, ANC officials sent their children to private elitist schools, underscoring the fact that the ANC had no interest in providing quality education for working class children. This act demonstrated the unashamed middle class individualism of the ANC, whichever way you choose to perceive it; it is this legacy which continues to prevail.

The onslaught on worker education, i.e. the brand of primary and general education concocted by the Basic Education Department, which today represents a most vicious and most unequal education plan for working class children and youth, is in full swing. An examination of the education system for the middle class and elite in South Africa, will show it to be of superior quality relative to teaching capability, content, activities, facilities and administration. Of course, these are not matters for the teachers' unions to address. These political issues should be addressed by a workers' vanguard or workers' political party! These organs must assume responsibility to demand universal quality education for all children and youth.

The 'blinkered' RSA government, seem to forget that an educated working class is fundamental to a growing economy. The shoddy and discriminatory basic education system for the working class places a heavy liability on the economy and demonstrates government's perfunctory regard in this instance.

Education was 'apportioned' by the Apartheid regime according to race, class and ethnicity. The least resources were apportioned to the education of the working class and even less to the rural areas. In addition to this, the Apartheid state employed their loyal 'guards' (inspectors, principles and officials) from sections of the 'oppressed' to implement the cruel, controlled, sectarian and discriminatory education system. The Paulo Freire school of critical pedagogy was the theory of choice for the liberal educationists then; but was the theory of critical pedagogy enough to bind the ANC to equal +education for all classes in the 'new' South Africa? And what were the views and strengths of the rank and file 'middle class' teachers at the time? Were they prepared to take on the struggle for equal education for all classes? Then SADTU, COSATU and the Alliance sprang onto the scene, the *mighty* teacher unions, the idiocracy, the jackboot of oppression, the gladiators of the ANC; their 'word' dominated and took with it 'equal education' for working class children and youth.

'People's education', the slogan of the democratic movement (ANC, PAC, et cetera.) during the years from 1976 to early 1990's, began to subside in the wake of Nelson Mandela's imminent release from prison. At this point there was no special focus accorded by the intelligentsia for the political and general education of the working class, workers, youths and children. Post 1994, the middle class leadership of organised education interest groups, subscribed to willingly join the 'Alliance', placing 'comrades' S Bengu, N Pandor and K Asmal as chariot drivers! These were the pioneers for middle

class education. At this point one may speak of 'one step forward, ten steps back'; the bleak reversion to class discrimination and the betrayal of the working class, a luta traida! Gone was the opportunity for developing the 'socio-political- educational- economic- environmental- cultural, health and technological dimensions of worker's daily life.

The Alliance tossed out (i) the development of an educated, intellectually sound labour force for South Africa, (ii) equity in general schooling, (iii) the opportunity to invest in a skilled, capable and productive workforce, (iv) close the gap between rich and poor, educated and uneducated, (v) eradicate backwardness and degradation in a population that was deprived of education by the previous regime! This complex scenario is not put to the elite, but to the workers of South Africa. The new leadership of South Africa failed to produce a programme for the education of the working class; the betrayal of the foot soldiers was done by a simply hand gesture and saying "not now!" The resultant outcomes of the ANC's betrayal of the workers' chances for equitable basic education, post 1994, may be listed as (i) maintaining an uneducated workers' reserve pool of cheap labour, (ii) a developing new middle class, (iii) elitist schools produce a continuous stream of professionals, financiers, scientists, academics, property owners and business elites, (iv) increasing alienation between the elite and the working class and (v) entrenched class distinction in the RSA.

Working class schools operate under stringent and uncompromising state bureaucracy, lack of resources, apathetic principals and teachers, controlled 'leaner' representative councils (SRCs?) and non-dynamic, visionless, ill-trained, rubber stamping school governing bodies (SGBs), who have learnt to embrace the dynamics of the system. Some of the characteristics prevailing in public schools are, (i) large

discrepancies in teachers' salaries, training and flexibility, (ii) a minimum of resources, (iii) autocratic rules and regulations, (iv) inadequate IT centres, (v) exclusion of political learning, (vi) noisy, ill-disciplined classes, (vii) inappropriate curricula and (viii) high potential for daily violence, criminal activity and abuse of teachers by scholars. Much of the contents of subjects are designed "outside of reality" so that scholars have difficulty relating work to daily life. Scholars have realised the futility of gaining 'an education', as the prospects of finding attractive career paths with minimal effort dwindles as the years pass by.

The post 1994 lack of interest, reactionary nature and class position of the people leading the basic education administration for working class schooling, has calcified. Working class adults and youths are subjected to an inferior education as the state encouraged the privatisation of education, in line with Mbeki's *Thatcherite* position, endorsing middle class ideology for the 'education' of the intelligentsia in the RSA. At many working class schools, mathematics and science are not taught at all. The fact that such a situation can be regarded as a norm, points to the sickness in the thinking of current day educationists holding academic and or state power.

In 1994, S Bengu and his team abandoned the calls for 'peoples' education' and the 'right to learn' and hence absorbed these willing 'education' intelligentsia into positions of state and government; one may assume that Bengu was no doubt in support of advancing the 'new' South African middle class. The ANC thus arrives at *the crossroads* between 'having' and 'not having' a conscience, and they chose the latter. The ANC chose to advance and secure jobs for the 'already wealthy' at the expense of investing in the education and training of the workforce. The tendency to sacrifice education for middle class greed and individualism, was a *grave mistake*, one that is likely to haunt the ANC post 1994, to the present.

The ANC government can be accused of (i) dismissing equal, universal education for the working class children and youth, (ii) turning a blind eye to retention of the lumpen economy, (iii) purposefully undermining the mathematics and science interests of working class children and youths in schools, (iv) purposefully undermining reading and literary interests of working class children and youths in schools, (v) retaining the cheap labour pool as it was during Apartheid and (vi) '*the poverty in education and learning*' and '*the stunting of growth*' in each of the critical domains of workers' human development, viz. the socio-political-educational-economic-environmental-cultural-health- technological and particularly cognitive aspects of child and youth development. Youth unemployment stands presently at a critical point; one must wonder whether the ANC will shirk the blame for it!

Meanwhile, all is very well in middle class and elitist schools, as these educands progress into top jobs and universities, unlike the poor scholar in the 'township-camps'. The dire ramifications of such blatant discrimination will become ever more visible as we enter Industry 4.0 and Society 5.0, as only the educated is likely to survive; as jobs become superfluous, so will perish the working class. The opposite can also be held as highly plausible as the grip of democracy tightens world-wide.

'Outcomes Based Education' (OBE) inventor, United States' William Spady, cannot be held responsible for the foolish indiscretion of South Africa's education state officials. Spady made public that OBE was a failed system, *yet* South African educationists adopted it! Obviously Cuba, Norway, Finland and Singapore had superior education systems. But why utilise the failed systems from the USA, a belligerent country known for brutal racial discrimination? OBE could not provide scholars with intellectual development, dissection of

literary works, independent thought, cognitive rationale, world-view thinking and skills for scientific inquiry provided by the pure sciences. OBE was destined for the rubbish bin. Did South Africa become the laughingstock of the world for adopting OBE? Whosoever claimed to have understood OBE, understood nothing! South Africa's philistinism could be found in the renewal of terminologies too; 'scholar' became 'learner', teacher became 'educator', SRC became SGB. What was the point? 'Learner' stripped away 'scholarly' attributes from the educational process; moreover, the institutionalisation of the 'new' terminologies served no valuable purpose other than to 'successfully' cut the cord from the tradition of 'struggle'. Thus too, political education and engagement in schools was halted; the spirit of the Sowetan 1976 uprising deadened and the killing of Hector Petersen forgotten, as June 16th became 'Youth day'. These facts herald South Africa as a weak, reactionary state.

The silence of the education fraternity in this regard remains inexplicable; even with the introduction of the unwarranted *Mathematics Literacy*, they could not be stirred into protest! The education system, at great expense to the working class is in rapid decline, as more and more one sees the alienation of the youth from global society and their brutal exclusion from the economy. The education system is geared to churn out the new bourgeois, a new generation to drive wealth accumulation for the elite in South Africa. Education in the Cuban tradition, is not going to see the light of day in South Africa, hence the children of workers are abandoned and left to degenerate in gangster torn 'township-camps'.

The OBE system has not been denounced by the South African teachers' unions; nor by the 'Alliance', nor by any minister or MEC, nor by school principals and SGB's. Why not? This matter can only be addressed by the workers' party. The working class party need to set new norms for the

education of their children; this can only be informed by intense comparative studies and requirements for equity and universal standards in the 4th and 5th industrial epochs. The absence of political education among the youth requires urgent focus. While the RSA import doctors and technicians from Cuba the status quo in this regard remains senseless and shameless. Class positioning has assumed a prominent and reactionary trait among the aspiring middle class scholars, while the education of the working class youth stagnates. Workers must demand an end to 'gutter education'; quality, equity and equality in education must be dictated by the organised working class in South Africa.

Newly graduating teachers, products of the failed system, enter schools passing their intellectual deficits and limited world-view to their scholars. Middle class and elite private schools only recruit the best qualified teachers. Researched papers and articles in this regard should be obtainable. A viscous cycle of *low intellect* grips primary and high working class schools. Thus it is this status quo that can only be destroyed by the decisive, organised and committed action of the working class, in their *demands* and *quest* for universal quality education. Standards for training teachers also necessitate investigation. Hence the principle of 'classlessness' should be applied across the entire education industry as well.

In considering the demand for equal, quality, universal and technology assisted education, many subjects must feature prominently: such as, (i) the didactics of education must be moral, emphasising cognition, intellect and reason, (ii) compulsory mathematics and science education, (iii) subjects dealing with the history of art, anthropology (race, class, ethnicity, diversity), literature, economics, politics, geography of the RSA and the world, (iv) languages, (v) social sciences and (vi) extra mural activities. These are building blocks for raising

class consciousness, awareness of human exploitation, understanding inequality and the autocratic arrogance of those who assume state power. OBE is highly superficial and good for those who seek the path to housekeeping. Universal education implies, (i) knowledge accumulation, (ii) understanding, (iii) abstract thinking, (iv) creative, critical and independent thinking, (v) cognitive and connotative development, (vi) debating ability, (vii) developing practical skills, and so forth.

While capitalists shape their education for the preservation of the system, so must socialists prepare their class for classless society and equity in the distribution of wealth. The antagonism between education for wealth accumulation and exploitation and education for social progress of all citizens without discrimination and exploitation, is based on demands, objectives and goals, which differ for the opposing classes.

In summary, the solution to the education problems found in working class schools, relate directly to working class wellbeing, liveability and happiness. Quality education, the right to work and the right to dignified homes and liveability, remain fundamental worker demands in South Africa. Hence the importance of the permanent working class political education programme, to build and develop class consciousness and to establish the working class party of South Africa, remains paramount. It is only through these means that the dire state of education for working class youth and children can be overturned.

The morality and ethics of attending school, as a place of learning, as a place of growing intellectually, as a place for investing the ones' early years of life, as an essential stepping stone to the future, has been destroyed by the debauched ruling elite, leaving many working class kids vulnerable and without hope. Only the workers of the RSA can put an end to this bourgeois crime.

SADTU HAS RELINQUISHED ITS INDEPENDENCE TO THE 'ALLIANCE'

The characteristics of an organisation provides insight into its nature. The South African Democratic Teachers Union, SADTU, has, by 1994, swung into the arms of the Alliance and the ANC. The rank and file members of SADTU, have therefore lost their independence and independent decision making powers. No matter what debates are executed at the branch level, the ANC assumes the covert right to veto decisions and political persuasions. SADTU is a trade union and not a political party; its business is about salaries, working conditions, human resources, disputes, negotiations, arbitrations and consensus. Not politics! So why the socialist appearance? These attributes should not be confounded under the present conditions prevailing at this level in South Africa. SADTU'S agenda is top-down, hence 'fixed'. Its members are caught in a web of dependence and manipulation, thus unable to lobby for any genuine change in the status quo of working class education. As a caveat to its members, it's worth noting that SADTU brands the organisation in the colours, banners, rhetoric, terminology and untrustworthy political images of Socialist-Leninist-communist character. It's phoney, fake, given SADTU's dictatorial nature and ties with the Alliance. As a trade union, SADTU cannot address the political demands of the working class. Should they do so, workers will have to scrutinise and be mindful of their aims.

SADTU's governance style is bureaucratic, fragmented, hierarchical and authoritarian, as opposed to an 'open system' where debates assume a 'bottom-up' discursive and a deliberative process, with accountability, transparency and feedback. SADTU members, having lost their

independence (voice, validation and visibility) to the Alliance, will find it extremely difficult to lobby for the very basic educational rights of working class scholars; these basic rights are listed in the previous chapter.

SADTU is characterised by their long, arduous repetitive speeches and quasi Marxist exterior, a middle class organisation representing a lower middle and working class base. SADTU's constitution does not aspire to develop working class education in terms of international standards for equity, quality and equality; they suffer selective blindness when it comes to elitist, middle class-private school education. SADTU enjoys a 'comfortable' relationship with the DBE authorities and the Alliance and hence are reluctant to disturb that insipid 'linear' relationship in any way. SADTU willingly shares an insular and inert *syndrome of camaraderie* with the ANC, COSATU and the SACP, as a leadership, *fait accompli*!

SADTU was born from a wide array of teacher organisations, divided on the basis of ethnicity, class, political ideology and political affiliation. These varying shades of schooling purpose and interests, gave sway to the 'trusted' Alliance and SADTU emerged in 1990, six months after the release of Nelson Mandela. At this juncture, the assumptions of 'just' socio-economic transformation in South Africa were still intact among the common people. Of course much of the planning and negotiations between imperialists and the ANC were covert and obscure to the majority of the population. Incidentally, Orania (Oranje) came into being in 1991! The nature and character of the 1990 – 1994 period, justifiably requires additional scholarship. One may claim with a high margin of accuracy, that this period was characterised by subverted negotiations, disappointment, control, particularly from the USA, tempering the ANC and placing the RSA on a path of failure and dependency; there is little doubt regarding

the influence, intervention and overt pressures from big capital on the fledgling RSA leadership. It is in this context that SADTU must be understood as an appendage of the Alliance.

Prior to 1994, teachers, were hopelessly unprepared and reluctant to deal with the student uprisings across the country. Many unfranchised middle class teachers, were openly angry and saw it as 'an attack on education'. One can only understand such sentiment viewed through a 'middle class' lens. Many of them could not continue in support of Apartheid, as their 'comfort zone' was shaken, which today they will fiercely deny! Many teachers 'ran the system' for the CAD, Indian and Bantu Affairs. Middle class teachers were in conflict with themselves. How could they not 'show' support for the 'struggle', when the 'comrades' (working class scholars) were watching them? This was the teachers' dilemma. So began the teachers' movement. The teacher intelligentsia, emerged with a solid middle class ideology, utterly alien to the working class agenda. But the teachers needed to be perceived by the student body as 'progressive'; to appear to be doing something 'in the struggle'! SADTU thus evolved from a duplicitous assortment of middle class 'associations' and a large number of small teacher entities cabals and cliques.

The majority of the teachers under Apartheid were conservative, middle class, officious, quasi apolitical intelligentsia, smug in their cocoons; anything outside of their narrow paradigm were regarded as 'revolutionary' and therefore unacceptable, as they were not in control of it. 1994 proved the latter to be true! Generally, teachers played the 'wait and see' game while the students were on the streets as young fighters in the name of the ANC, PAC and the anti-apartheid organs across the country. SADTU's genesis is therefore plain, simple and duplicitous, born from an array of groupings, ideologies and interests; what keeps SADTU in

operation, without any doubt, is the ruling Alliance.

SADTU's checkered genesis is its weakness; its leadership aspires to the careerism offered by the Alliance, its rank and file membership comprise of 'all' classes and ideologies and its *raison d'être* is trade union business. There is no threat being a member of this organisation, nor is there much to gain from it, given that after three decades, SADTU's host organisations are also in a phase of disintegration.

One cannot be fooled by the SADTU 'socialist-communist' blog that it currently sports in tandem with the SACP's brand of hogwash. The purpose for doing so is to confuse, to confound and to assume a duplicitous role, i.e. being capitalist and working class simultaneously? Capitalism has its embedded contradictions and such infantilism is rife within opportunistic political structures. Teachers in South Africa are generally working class and lower middle class. This group, would be 'better off' in a workers' political party than an ANC affiliated trade union, from which they extract no gains. This group of educationists would assume the responsibility of formulating a working class scholarly agenda. SADTU cannot do this, by nature of the purpose it assumes. The SADTU constitution, demands and objectives, affiliations and material outputs since its inception, did not promote a working class agenda. If it did, that agenda would have been known to all teachers and the DBE. SADTU does not therefore promote working class universal demands for, education; it cannot, as it is a trade union.

The SADTU 'Preamble' to their Constitution, is tardy, overextended and verbose; it states "*We, teachers and Education Workers of South Africa, having committed ourselves to the transformation of education and dedicated ourselves to the development of an education system which is fully accessible, equal and qualitative, free of apartheid legacy*

and which is the just expression of the will of the people, as enshrined in the Constitution (1996) of the country, hereby proclaim the need for a single teachers and Education Workers union in our land. Further, recognizing the deeply embedded class and gender disparities in South African society, SADTU commits itself to eliminating all gender and class based discrimination in Education in South Africa. To this end, SADTU shall endeavour to inculcate the values of egalitarianism and social justice among its members and the broader society”.

The reader may want to place ‘The SADTU preamble’ under scrutiny. The reader will detect mistakes, jargonistic opinion and contradictory claims. The preamble furthers no end, is not politically profound and adds little value to the genuineness regarding the conditions under which working class scholars must learn and advance. The use of terminology such as transformation, education workers, apartheid, eliminating all gender and class based discrimination and egalitarianism, each requires discursive and deliberative debate; but since SADTU is not a political party, the ANC or SACP should commence the task of transforming working class schools to a form enjoyed by their elitist counterpart.

Let us assume that the following extract taken from the SADTU Constitution (page 1, 2010) is genuine in so far as their members are committed to it and that SADTU has the intention to implement it by way of a SADTU programme; it is stated that “*The main aim of SADTU is to eradicate all forms of discrimination in education and to strive towards a free and democratic system of education in South Africa*”. In this case, we only have our experience to rely on in order to test the truth thereof. Statements are empty and without clout if not adequately evidenced. Therefore, consider that (i) by its nature, a trade union’s role and activities are located in the application

of the LRA (66 of 1995) and BCEA (75 of 1997) in the interest of its 'paying' members, (ii) SADTU can *at best collaborate* with the ANC and SACP (as political parties) in fulfilling equality, equity and quality universal education for all scholars, from all class backgrounds, (iii) educate scholars in principle, along the lines of equity, in a classless society and upon the premise of the eradication of all forms of class discrimination, (iv) SADTU can only implement socialist demands if they take back their independence from the Alliance, with whom they are bonded, bridged and braced, given that an organisation cannot divide their loyalties between capitalist structures and systems and a workers' socialist party of South Africa, (v) trade unions serve the capitalist state, government departments such as the DBE and the industrial entities and (vi) the ASCP and the ANC are instrumental in maintaining a cheap labour pool, labour exploitation and a loyal voter base. Only a material and dialectical analysis of SADTU's daily activities can expose their idiocy, grandiose nonsense and continual spin-doctoring.

Organisations representing the capitalist state are prone to be obscurantist, apologetic and dismissive of workers' issues, utilising spin-doctoring in an unsubstantiated and nonevidenced manner. SADTU's 'socialist' cosmetics and duplicity towards socialist demands are a case in point. There is no other way to deal with class discrimination in education, save to implement the classless rule, viz. that the same education system, contents, quality and standards, be administered to all children and youth in South African schools thereby implementing the socialist principles of equality, equity and classlessness in education. By implication, this stratum of South African society will also be afforded equality and equity of opportunity as they advance into the job market.

Is SADTU capable and willing to (i) face the inequity

found in class based education, (ii) spearhead the delivery of quality universal education in terms of standards, quality, infrastructure and content to all educands in establishing classless society, (iii) advance the principles of scientific didactics and pedagogy, (iv) advance the *critical human development dimensions*, viz. the socio-political- educational-economic-environmental-cultural-health and technological progress of worker's daily life, (v) demand a focus on the *cognitive* and *connotative* development of the working class adults, youths and children? By what other methodology would the material and social conditions of workers in South Africa be systemically transformed?

SADTU's class position and political ideology is clearly in support of the ruling regime; workers should not be side-tracked by cosmetic 'socialist' innuendo and should mobilise support for their ideals in spite of it. Schooling produces scholars, broad knowledge bases, competencies, ability for innovation, creativity and independent thinking; above all, schooling produces that important balance between cognitive and connotative wellbeing. The socialist system of schooling must be linked to broader educational institutions, society, and business, to link scholarly identity and to pioneer newfound social relations, void of 'class' constraints.

Schooling for the working class, in the quest for heightened class consciousness, should be regarded as a means to an end. Only an organised working class can demand greater opportunities for working class children and youth in schools. A clear perception of class division in our society and the awareness of the dire qualitative and quantitative material and non-material inequalities is necessary to advance working class struggle. The spectrum across which this statement applies is no doubt the spectrum of human advancement in each of the socio-political- educational-economic-environmental-cultural-health

and technological dimensions of worker's daily life. Class consciousness is built through demonstrating (i) contradictions in bourgeois thought, (ii) awareness of socio-economic-educational inequalities, (iii) false and misguided capitalist 'norms' detrimental to social progress, and (iv) ruling class opposition to worker class consciousness.

SADTU has capitulated on their role in education, insofar as (i) sacrificing teacher independence by entering the COSATU-Alliance, (ii) abandoning the need for equity in education, (iii) their facilitatory role was replaced with an authoritarian one, (iv) abandoning political education in the classroom, (v) they exercise different agenda in elitist and public schools, (vi) their role in elitist schools are virtually redundant, (vii) their socialist rhetoric may be fitting in working class schools, but not at elitist schools. What do they say to the elite schools when their preamble, hammers and sickles are directed at another class? Does the ruthless nature of class discrimination in elitist schools even bother SADTU? In spite of the showing of socialist banners and colours, does SADTU ever bother about the concept of classless society? Why the socialist masquerade?

There is little doubt that the South African economy, requires an educated, psychosocially balanced, intellectually astute, skilled and motivated workforce with a quality built environment that is adequate and liveable. The workers' wellbeing and social progress is also vital in this regard. This demand cannot be discounted in any manner. All South African youth must be regarded equally and should be afforded a universal education *at every level* and similarly when it comes to building the wealth of the nation. A workers' education curriculum must include scientific subjects, literature, music, mathematics, political science, social and economic studies, universal consciousness systems thinking, ICT, classical dance

and sustainable development; currently, the education of working class children is as pointless at mathematics literacy! SADTU does not grasp the gravity of such a denial; it is too steeped in its support for middle class materialism.



SOURCE: *Trabajadores Leed Solidaridad Obrera*

Spanish Civil War Poster Collection, BUSCW_090. Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections Department. Brandeis University. August 2016.

SADTU's focus on bottom-up member engagement is limited, given the omission of the need for a dynamic focus on school feeding, renunciation of OBE and mathematics 'literacy', science infrastructure, school transport, school based libraries, e-learning, teacher-student ratios, the call for a 50% pass mark, quality teacher training, extirpation of corruption, principal and SGB inadequacies, workers' education, scholar and teacher safety and an end to gangsterism in schools.

For the readers' interest, the Trabajadores! (Workers!) poster was manipulated and utilised to construct the SADTU logo during the years leading up to the launch of SADTU in Johannesburg. The SADTU logo is therefore highly arguable.

WORKING CLASS SCHOLARS ARE ALIENATED FROM IT AND E-LEARNING

Working class scholars are alienated from IT and e-learning and hence robbed of this learning. As South Africans indulge the 4th and 5th industrial epochs, IT and e-learning necessitates critical public spending by schools (DBE) and tertiary institutions as investment in lower middle class and working class wellbeing and to advance their employment and socio-economic prospects. South Africa's ruling elite have invested in the upper classes, a class which cannot comprehend an investment return coming from the cheap labour pool, save their labour which according to them does not require 'investment' drives.

Why would the ruling class want to invest in IT and e-learning for the working class? What would motivate them? Historically, capitalist nations do not invest in the workers' socio-political-economic-environmental-psychological-cultural-health and technological domains of human development; according to this cruel and oppressive capitalist 'norm', workers are easier to control when uneducated, a major error of thought and stark contradiction in capitalist ideology. The IT and e-learning infrastructural and learning needs experienced by working class children and youth can be compared to the education provisions of their middle class counterparts. Educationists who do not openly declare the existence of such criminal discrimination are defending capitalist morality and interests. IT and e-learning resources are usurped from the working class and granted to the children and youth of the elite and the middle class. Wealthy schools attended by the upper strata of the middle class and the elite, begin IT and e-learning in Grade 1! What justifies such 'class' discrimination?

Using information from the OECD Economic Survey, South Africa (2013: 68), it is clear that in working class schools there are huge deficits in infrastructure, textbooks, teacher training, art, reading classes, mathematics and science education and both the teaching and utilisation of e-learning. Working class children and youth face “high fees, large class sizes, teacher incapacity, poor teaching and high teacher absenteeism”. In capitalist society resources are distributed unevenly with workers allocated the least; “77% of schools have no computer centre and 60% had no library in 2010; 7% still had no water supply and overall 23% of schools were deemed to be in poor or very poor state”. These statistics must be understood against the background of middle class growth in South Africa post 1994. Schools that have computers range from 10% in the Eastern Cape to about 60% in the Western Cape. In addition, the relationship between reading, language, speaking, cognitive development, availability of computers and library facilities cannot be fragmented and must be holistically understood as these elements are connected by common purpose for greater effectiveness. Elitist and middle class scholars have consolidated their educational infrastructure and equipment needs by virtue of their class position and class status, which is defined by its “completeness and irreconcilability” (Trotsky 1938, *Their Morals and Ours*). Working class scholars are alienated from such luxury and therefore disadvantaged in the economic domain. The quality of education, skill and insight of teachers, and the standards for success operative at private and Model-C schools must be duplicated and replicated across the country and must replace the poor, inferior quality and standards of the ‘township-camp’ schools for the working class. The political parties responsible for this transgression must account to the workers of South Africa. There is no other solution to change the status quo of

working class education in the RSA, save by the establishment of an independent workers' party of South Africa.

Capitalism reside in contradictions such as these; the destruction of these contradictions implies the destruction of the capitalist system that drives the discrimination, hence the demand for classless society. Revisionism, the attempt to make improvements within the capitalist system, has proven to be a fruitless exercise, hence, the continuous political education programme of the workers must address the class discrimination *preserved* by the DBE in the 'new' reactionary South Africa.

There can be no discrimination in the distribution of resources for effective schooling of the working class educand in South Africa. All scholars and youths in South Africa must enjoy the right to superior, qualitatively sound education. This right must be won by the working class, through the best means available to it. Education *en masse*, should be regarded as the fulcrum of the struggle. The political education of the workers and the general education of their children must be a fundamental demand by the workers' party. IT and e-learning are fundamental and critical educational necessities of the technological era, the knowledge era, the era of social progress, equity and social competitiveness. Without this knowledge working class children will suffer acute backwardness in all the *human development* dimensions of their lives.

1976 Witnessed the revolutionary boldness of working class scholars in the abolishment of 'Afrikaans' as the dominant 'Apartheid' language for learning. The revolutionary boldness of the working class scholars and youths of South Africa brought Apartheid to its knees. The ruling class has done its best to belittle the memory of Hector Petersen and June 16, 1976, by calling his commemoration by another name! Revolutionary boldness can destroy the domination of education by the elitists and their middle class tail-endists. The

present system retains the best resources for a few to enjoy; a deep-rooted colonialist practice in present day South Africa! Workers are obligated to challenge capitalist morality, individualism, individual interest, capitalist norms, dominance, divisiveness and exploitation, in order to effectively contextualise and formulate their demands in scientific socialist terms. *The battle for universal workers' schooling on par with the best in the country, is a primary workers demand, along with the right to work and the right to dignified quality housing.* In current South Africa, it appears that schooling the working class has lost its importance, given that Shoprite, Woolworths, et cetera, exploit working class scholars as a cheap labour force.

Skew distribution of educational resources, benefitting primarily the elite and the upper middle class, cannot produce a balanced society nor healthy social relations of production. By the same reasoning, a backward working class cannot participate fully in a growing society / economy. It is the political responsibility of the South African workers to restore balance to society by demanding equal allocation of quality educational, IT and e-learning resources. The only substitute for class domination by capitalists is classless society, as it bears the democratic morality of equality, equity and social wellbeing for the working class. Workers will not win their demands unless political power is seized by them. Economic life can improve for the workers without its hellish, exploitative characteristics! The same for education; healthy social relations can only be achieved by effecting equal education and quality schooling for all citizens. Bourgeois ideology, its anachronic modus vivendi and status quo, its disgusting economic individualism and its epistemological backwardness steeped in colonialism, cannot be a blockade for quality universal worker education; there is no justification for it.

The struggle for the collective ownership of mass-based

IT and e-technology in this milieu, must be placed on the agenda by workers. Corporates, with the support of the ruling party, are raking in billions from IT and e-learning sales while the majority of the population has no access to it. E-learning must narrow the huge chasms in society, left not only by the previous and current regimes, but also by an ailing South African economy. It is unfathomable that the ruling party resists the need for an educated, skilled and intellectually balanced worker; hence again the result hereof is a poor, sluggish, inert economy. The permanent political education of the workers can utilise e-learning stratagems efficiently, with great satisfaction and ease. E-Learning can be adapted as is revolutionary instrument and can be extremely valuable in raising class consciousness. The collective (social) ownership of modern technology and the internet demands a new set of social norms which will promote universal quality education as a right; a new culture, based on 'utilitarian and collective' social norms must serve the working class in building classless society.

Without access to the internet workers and their children remain alienated from world events. In 'township-camp' schools, the immediate problems may be summed up as being: (i) the value of the internet and the full utilisation thereof is not being addressed and communicated effectively to working class scholars; hence there arise the deficits in learning, gaining world view and communication skills, (ii) inadequate infrastructure for large classes and large school population, (iii) teaching needs in respect of access, training internet research, downloading, copyright and utilisation (and sifting) of information, and maintenance of curriculum content suffers, (iv) lack of opportunity to read local and international newspapers, downloading books, blogging, e-mailing, study using documentaries and making contact with organisations of interests to them. IT and e-learning must be of prime concern

to workers as the essential instrument and medium of communication and learning in support of the permanent political education programme as it is able to contribute to the 'internationalist and universal' consciousness of workers. The bourgeois constantly utilise IT and e-learning to their advantage, pleasure, learning and business. Why not the working class?

Working class scholars, youth and workers share the same demand and hence the same need for IT and e-learning. Relative to a permanent programme of political education of workers, the internet has proven to be a necessity for, (i) obtaining Marxist and socialist reading and definitions of terminologies, (ii) searching writers for counter ideologies, (iii) verification of facts by searching for statistical information, (iv) solidifying points of view with socialists internationally, (v) stating opinions and demands on websites and blogs, (vi) e-mailing minutes of e-meetings and completing other 'paperless' tasks, (vii) writing critical papers in advancing workers ideology, (viii) closing the information gap between rural areas, town and cities, (ix) planning conferences, (x) teaching and learning of mathematics, science and scientific socialism and (xi) feedback regarding outcomes of debates to organisations and worker reading cells and so forth. Internet and more broadly, digitalisation, is essential for all citizens to have access to at a minimal cost or entirely free. High prices are construed by the wealthy to keep the working class 'out'; hence deprive common users of access to it. The ownership of digital infrastructure and distribution must be utilised by citizens as a necessity. E-services, like water and electricity, has become essential and the requirement of remodelling ITC in the public interest, is not at all unrealistic nor improbable.

MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS: A FINE LINE BETWEEN SELF-INTEREST, PARTY INTERESTS AND PUBLIC INTEREST

Workers of South Africa, would you pay councillors their salary according to their public experience, innovative-managerial abilities, political expertise, academic qualifications and proven competence? Would you pay their salary according to their political party affiliation? Would you pay a salary according to how well they achieve community demands, expectations and needs, since they are paid from public funds? Would you pay their salary if they are appointed in top-down fashion? Then, according to what criteria are councillors elected by communities? Have communities scrutinised these criteria or performance indicators listed above? How will 'value created' by councillors be measured? Are councillors capable of managing oversight in direly needed projects and programmes at the local level? Are they trained in this regard?

Are councillors able to focus on issues such as building community organisation, community wellbeing, social progress, community engagement, personal safety and improvement of local liveability? Are councillors focusing on the right to housing, sustainable communities and the eradication of 'township-camps'? Are councillors efficient and effective with regard to (i) ward committees' management and (ii) community involvement in the affairs of the municipality as stipulated by the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 Section 42? Are councillors elected by the community at community meetings, where adequate discursive and deliberative processes have been followed?

The management of councillors is structurally and systemically controlled by an undemocratic, bureaucratic and

autocratic political party system in South Africa, aligned to capitalist sponsors and other ever-present corruptors and corruptees. Councillor management excludes training in effective 'bottom-up' public engagement, inclusiveness, transparency, accountability, enablement, political astuteness and civic education for working class communities. SALGA, aligned to the ruling party, exerts government controls on councillors country-wide via their legislated structures (PECs), agenda setting and 'advocacy' mechanism. SALGA's staff salaries speaks volumes as communities languish in poverty, ill housing, lack of water, electricity, food, education and so forth. Their *actual* value to municipalities and hence communities, have never been empirically assessed and published.

In South Africa presently, there is absolute disjuncture between whose interest's councillors represent in municipalities and what 'products' or 'values' councillors are expected to deliver to communities. Since they are paid 'agents' of local government, their 'products' would naturally be 'intangible', but measurable. But, whatever they deliver must in some way relate to raising the quality of citizens' lives, their wellbeing and their happiness. If not, then why are they in existence? Councillors in bourgeois municipalities are generally very conservative, 'line-takers', self-styled saviours of capitalist bureaucratic institutional design and functioning. Councillors' political ideologies are governed by paradox. A paradox is defined as the condition of apparently contradictory opposites that appears on the face of things to hold some truth. Councillors perform in ways that make 'self-interest' (career, job and personal dealing) and 'citizens' interest' (production of public value) the same interest! When the ANC stated paradoxically that "the struggle is over", what were the 'self-interest' and the 'citizens' interest' components in respect of the material context of the working class?

Are councillors drawn from the petite intelligentsia of the lower middle class to serve in bourgeois councils? Experience tells us that in South Africa councillors are also drawn from middle class property and business owners. How then do they relate to representing the demands of the working to class? A permanent political education programme of the workers will prepare worker representatives to present their own demands and interests. Simultaneously, workers should demand an institutionalised civic education that would serve to educate citizens in general on issues pertaining to local municipalities.

It is obvious that local demands and interests would be represented at local and national forums. Workers' representatives will represent 'class' issues, public interests, demands for public goods and infrastructure, the need for public services and generally the production of public value. How do class values, principles and agendas differ among the councillors who purport to represent the interests of the so called 'poor', since councillors are appointed and not elected? What seems to be amiss is the fact that pro-bourgeois councillors will represent worker demands, from their party perspective, hence the sluggish rate at which development unfolds. There is no agreement between the majority of councillors and the working class; the class consciousness between these entities differ widely! Workers' representatives need to engage in discussion on fundamental socialist issues, principles and practice, on issues such wealth accumulation in the face of gross poverty, hunger and deprivation of education, health, housing and personal safety; councillors have never done so before and therefore one may conclude that councillors do not represent the working class. Survey research will prove this point! Over the last three decades, worker living conditions have worsened, an indication that councillors do not represent

worker demands.

All municipalities are in the first instance, self-serving, secondly, they render a service to the business community and private property and thirdly, one could claim that they have no interest in serving the working class. One may claim the latter on the basis of the Auditor Generals' annual evaluation of municipal performance. Over the past three decades, these reports have shown a decline in the quality of municipal management, financial wastage and dire incapability.

Councillors behave like submissive bookkeepers; they accept agenda without question, debate without any analysis or adequate prognosis, prone to forget principles of equity, accountability to citizenry and above all they seem to 'blend' with the ideological architecture presented by their political party and the state. Councillors, driven by self-interest, work within the parameters of the capitalist *modus operandi* and *modus vivendi*. They do not question the system that creates poverty, i.e. the existing socio-economic '*normative*'. Councillors are paid, hence they are employees reluctant to challenge their masters! Are councillors shapers and guardians of their communities? Do they protest at the deaths of 'township-camp' workers at the hands of the police and township gangsters?

In considering the dynamics and structure of the present social relations of production, it is imperative for councillors to study the economic driving forces in a rapidly changing society; examples are the impact of the 4th and 5th industrial revolution on their communities; another is the impact of ever growing structural unemployment and rising food prices. One can only begin to understand the nature of local problems when one studies matters comparatively, globally and empirically. All the issues, matters and concerns councillors deal with are party-politically concoctions; this

leaves worker demands and interests, generated from below, off the agenda at local councils.

Worker organs have the power to demand their own representatives in councils. However, the capitalist ruling party influences this process and workers are compelled to form their own political entities. Worker representatives based at municipalities cannot be excluded from a permanent political worker education programme. Present councillors at municipalities are drawn from different class levels and educational backgrounds, making unity in ideology difficult relative to the issues, matters and concerns placed before them. Councillors generally have middle class aspirations and consciousness. The training of councillors in the art of politics and political astuteness does not occur; it is not a consideration to political parties at this juncture.

Perhaps councillors should study the Hangzhou (China) municipality model, or be taken there on an excursion! From an aesthetic view the city is attractive. The municipal offices are not iconic (as in the Apartheid design) and is surrounded by gardens, libraries for children, teens, high school, tertiary and research, with areas for socialising, comfortable and warming with cafeteria-coffee shop facilities, sports fields and swimming pool. This civic area or the people's area, constitutes a visible social arena of the city, offers a charm a little distance away from the main CBD hub. This is an example of what a city can do for its inhabitants. But no, it is in the nature of these politicians to be, in the first instance, self-serving! The 'communities' of Hangzhou, are directly involved in the performance of that municipality through a fully operational public participation process. The lessons here are simple with emphasis on utility, peoples' needs, quality service delivery, underlining the principles of integration, holism, social relations, growth and development facilitation. The civic arena

is catalytic in the growth of the city and its citizens. Clinging to *fragmented modelling* of socio-economic entities is archaic and anachronistic, given the legacy of colonialism some tend to preserve!

Representatives of workers in local governments should be forward thinkers in respect of the dynamic and constantly changing cities and towns with constant awareness of the disjuncture between the wealthy CBD and the desolate 'township-camps'. Councillors should be focusing on the complete eradication of 'township-camps', an icon of the Apartheid legacy! All resources have value, yet so much of it is wasted having no impact on the required development in working class areas. Councils and councillors should not be generating wealth without the production of value (worth) for all citizenry to benefit from. Working class areas are sterile domains like concentration camps; councillors therefore need to be vigilant about the negative influence of 'township-camp' features discussed previously and hence place emphasis on a broader, more universal vision for the prospects and progress of workers living there. Our concern is not with the middle class and elite areas where all is well and where 'public value' have been largely generated. The point is to eliminate the gap between the wealthy areas and the poverty ridden areas of the city. Workers need to drive visions for their liveability!

Workers must dictate to councillors their demands and interests. Councillors have to publish (place on the agenda) workers' demands and interests with capitalist institutions of state as well as conduct exercises in strategy formulation, mobilisation and agitation for projects and programmes aimed at rebuilding 'open' communities while workers are engaged in a permanent political education programme to raise class consciousness. The reader may also refer to www.C2Connectingcommunities, another example of winning

social transformation. The fact that workers have to live and grow with high rates of criminal activity in the 'township-camps' is highly unacceptable. The 'lumpen' is by its nature opposed to revolutionary struggle and ideology, the enemy of the workers, because they drive 'the illegal economy' to further their criminal and anti-social ends. Councillors do not address this matter systemically, hence its perpetuation over time, ultimately, in the interest of the ruling elite and the state.

'Self-determination and collective action' in a democracy such as South Africa implies that workers must elect their own representatives; hence workers have to seize the right to build their own houses, parks, crèches, roads, clinics, gardens, transportation nodes, fishing ponds, cycling lanes, theatres, sports halls, schools, to end poverty, joblessness and apathy. In the achievement of these activities, workers develop a sense of belonging, ownership and restored dignity. These activities imply the adoption of 'bottom-up' and deliberative dialogue processes with the city representatives. Councillors should be representatives of their communities or be recalled. Elitist-conservative municipalities will then have to decide whether they will oppose or support independent community drives, based on their needs, wants and demands. Criminal and anti-social activity can be addressed in the same way.

Civic education must be a community demand, without which workers in townships cannot effectively engage with municipal top officials. Civic education cannot be seen as separate from the workers' political education programme or as separate from the emergence of a workers' political party. It is 'the norm' that during election time, councillors promote the interests of their political parties, exploiting working class needs to retain their positions of power. Have councillors ever refused to attend the wasteful and costly party meetings, indaba's, conferences and gala dinners at great cost but with very little

gain to their communities? Is it a question of being enticed by bourgeois rewards and sense of belonging, to the detriment of workers in ‘township-camps’?

Councillors are by nature opportunistic, individualistic technocrats, pseudo politicians and politically illiterate; one may claim with certainty that these state employees are not socialists, Marxists, leftists or any other progressive sort. *It is now widely understood that affiliation with the ruling party, the ANC, does not imply a progressive, dynamic and pro-worker position.* By which criteria then does one measure or assess a councillor’s ability to perform? One such criterion, at the insistence of citizenry, should be that councillors put in place the machinery for the regularity of full public engagement, with performance criteria chosen by the communities, for voicing worker demands and interests. For any malfeasance, councillors should be recalled by the citizens who elected them. *More so, workers should be councillors, mobilising and agitating for their own party demands.*

The South African government system is sodden with ‘carry over’ elements and components from colonialism, an example being the opening of parliament, carried out with much the same ‘glitter and gold’ as their predecessors in the Apartheid National Party did, generating waste and pointlessness. The eradication of scarce resources wastage can only be implemented by a workers’ party, as the responsibility to build much needed infrastructure is critical for the success of realising workers’ power, demands and interests. Conservative traditions in councillor behaviour stymie growth, movement and innovation; people must feature prominently in ‘open system’ local councils. Stringent bureaucracy thus implies fragmented municipal structures and systems, i.e. departmentalism and excessive red tape which must be circumvented through the implementation of effective digital

performance and feedback instruments placed in working class communities.

In summary, it is critical for workers to establish and build a workers' political party of South Africa. It is as critical for workers of South Africa to follow a permanent political education programme, part of which could be civic education. Armed with these instruments, workers will be advantaged to partake in local, provincial and national engagements, representing their own objectives, demands and future in South Africa. The production of public value, raising the standard and quality of life, raising class consciousness, class organisation and the eradication of 'township-camps', are among the primary tasks that workers, need to be occupied with. A new breed of councillors must be elected by their communities, to represent the interests of working class communities.

The high incidence of crime in 'township-camps' prevent workers from attending discussion groups and reading circles. Criminals aid the present regime in this regard, keeping workers away from politics, free association and freedom of movement. Embedded criminality has historically been a means to an end for the ruling elite.

THE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY OF SOUTH AFRICAN WORKERS

Workers in post 1994 South Africa witnessed the emptiness and bankruptcy of the Mandela euphoria, the stoicism of Mbeki, the short term of Motlanthe, the gross corruption during the Zuma era graft and the tip-toeing of Ramaphosa. Workers witnessed the decline of trust in the ANC. Did the working class advance during these years or were they shot upon and killed?

The intelligentsia cabals at universities, NGO's, politicians, ministers in power, ecclesiastes and Alliance 'comrades' are silent, complacent and withdrawn on the issue of workers' quality of life over the last three decades. It is to this group that one must put the question: Why did the workers of South Africa not advance (re liveability) like their middle class neighbours did?

The ANC, SACP, their youth wings, trade unions, the conservative DA and all the other smaller political parties are not hurrying to the side of the workers to lift them from drudgery! It is the political responsibility of the South African workers to (i) build their *independent* Working Class Party of South Africa, (ii) become educated politically through the formation of an ongoing political education programme and the need for a workers' ideology in South Africa, (iii) guard their political and organisational independence from the 'friends of the people' with their lives!

Thus, only when equipped with a spiky tipped, resolute working class consciousness, a set of infallible demands and organisational independence, then workers will be ready to engage the bourgeois from a position of strength, driven by their class position, their power base and by their unwavering determination for an equitable stake of the political and

economic gains of the country, i.e. sharing in the wealth of the country. The demand for classless society is catalytic, a call for equity and an instrument against class division and crude discrimination, from which the entire society is able to benefit.

The workers of South Africa are not burning, looting and throwing stones for the achievement of their socialist-collective and class demands. Their means of struggle will be astute, strategic, tactful, moral, matching crystal clear objectives, i.e. demands, guided by socialist scientific dialectics, dialogue, discourse and collective decisions. The enablement and empowerment of workers, coupled with a solid political education, is necessary for their emancipation from capitalist control and subjugation. An independent working class party avoids worker engagement based on empty promises and spin doctoring. Workers are able to collectively formulate demands set out in a workers' programme, viz. demands emanating from each of the socio- political- educational- economic- environmental- cultural- health and technological human development dimensions.

A Working Class Party of South Africa will ensure that the democratic gains made in the past accrues to all in society, i.e. classless society. Workers will uphold scientific and materialist based arguments that will enrich their public purpose, their public interests and the road ahead for the achievement of equity, self-determination and social progress.

Since 1994, workers in South Africa have been tail-ending the political parties and the treacherous and toothless 'Alliance', representing the capitalist class. Workers need to remember (i) the lessons and dynamics of the Marikana and other killings, (ii) their long term socio-economic decline, (iii) their need for the right to work, adequate quality housing and quality services, (iv) their right to exercise their economic power, (v) the futility, amorality and pointlessness of capitalism,

(vi) the superfluosness of the race question and the need to substitute it with internationalism and finally, (vii) loyalty to the capitalist ruling class is something of the past! Imperatives such as these are necessary in the building of a working class consciousness, the formidable weapon of the working class.

Pro bourgeois-capitalist parties in Parliament share the following characteristics:

- Parties dictate who their provincial and local municipal candidates will be according to their party rules, caucus decisions and preferences in top-down manner; their analysis of appointments are as superficial as their discipline, recall, suspension and expulsion clauses;
- All parties currently serving South Africans bow to capitalist whims and demands;
- Democracy in South Africa does not exist for the working class; the working class is granted *superficial* attention during periodic voting campaigns;
- Democracy is replaced by bureaucracy, hierarchy and autocracy, while transparency, accountability, feedback and sustainability are superficially acknowledged;
- Democratic governance is suppressed;
- Lip service paid to the National Development Plan, which was a hoax, a smokescreen, formulated by an elitist intelligentsia in 2011, a waste of money;
- Lip service paid to ‘Township-camp’ violence, volatility and fragility is characterised by frequent uprisings, sporadic xenophobic outbursts, increasing poverty and backwardness.

A Working Class Party of South Africa need to set down demands in each of the human development domains of life, viz. the social, economic, political, educational, environmental, cultural, psychological, health and technological. Each one of these ‘parts of life’ require growth in

productivity, refocused strategies, interconnectivity of local, national and global entities and managerial controls in the interest of citizens' wellbeing, progress, sustainability and growth. These critical industries have been pilfered and brought to its knees by the ruling party. Each one of these industries require skilled artisans, technologists, educated workers and committed leaders, as it holds opportunities to end joblessness via the right to work principle. Economic credibility, creativity, freedom and autonomy to determine policies and delivery at the local level, the sense of inclusion and ownership among citizens, the ability of citizens to create value, social progress and happiness, a Constitution (1996) that is operable in initiating security, safety and legitimacy, building sustainable and stable communities, are all the tasks that must be fulfilled by an independent Working Class Party of South Africa!

Who would better understand the bitter inequalities in this society than the workers themselves? It is the task of the defenders and champions of capitalism, to kill any revolutionary consciousness developing among workers. Capitalists will defend their class status and will kill working class consciousness where it shows its head. The workforce of South Africa can no longer afford to be inert, tail-endist, perfunctory and lackadaisical, as they have a political responsibility to the land of their birth, to end capitalist exploitation.

THE NATURE OF CONSERVATIVE POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Political conservatism implies preserving and practising the remnants of colonialist ideology; now pro capitalism and all forms of liberalism, imported from the EU, USA and the UK. Politics of this nature influence our economic and social relations; it influences those able to thrive, and those who cannot. The ruling parties seated in Parliament, have adopted and practice conservative politics in South Africa; we know this as these parties have never announced their rejection thereof, but they have become masters of concealing the utilisation thereof. Conservatism rejects systemic transformation, inclusion, innovation and ‘bottom-up’ engagement with civic groups, workers and in general, the poverty stricken.

Conservatives enjoy holding on to aged traditions, status quo and sectarian practices. Conservatives are reactionaries and guardians of capitalism-imperialism. One should pay attention to the fact that conservatives are exploitative in enabling their profiteering. The ANC, EFF and the DA utilised the middle class, ‘black’ intelligentsia, lower middle class and working class vote to get into leadership positions. Once in power, the status quo reverts to its original place in society. Racial exploitation also becomes clear during the voting period and afterwards. Ever heard of a South African political party that built an exclusive ‘dog park’ for middle class previously franchised citizens, in the face of housing shortages, poverty and social progress deficits? Well, that is the nature of conservative politics. The parties at parliamentary and local level display similar characteristics; the fact that the colours of their flags are different is meaningless. All parties in South Africa utilise conservative politics for securing seats in

provincial and national parliaments. In so doing, in terms of representation, the working class naturally 'falls off the grid'. By nature, conservatives are skilled in the use of duplicity, opportunism and measures to defend the status quo for the elite and the middle class. While the working class gave their vote to conservative political parties in the post 1994 period, workers', by increasing the level of their class consciousness, should be voting for a party that would represent their demands and interests directly! That party should be their own workers' party of South Africa, where workers' values and morality remain in sync with *socialist scientific* astuteness and diplomacy.

Whereas conservative political parties represent free market interests, big business, corporate elites, preservation of the status quo, a cheap labour pool and the interests of capital, a workers' party must gear its objectives to an economy that would develop democratic life for its populace from below, lift workers out of degradation and restore dignity, adopt the right to work, build infrastructure such as dignified housing for all, implement universal education, cooperatives, safety, security.

Whereas conservatism is inwardly focused, a workers' party must be outwardly focused, creating 'open' societies in protecting the rights of workers against pointless capitalist exploitation and infiltration. The DA supports the necessity to accord workers just the right amount of 'freedoms' that would allow them to pave the way for the smooth running of the economy. Whereas the ANC are babies in representing the 'new' imperialism, the DA has a rich history in that arena. The DA realise that without the 'indigenous' vote they would sink. The DA treats the worker like the boss does on the factory floor, utterly devoid of any interest in their demands, living conditions, schooling, et cetera. The ultra-conservative DA, has absolutely no idea of the workers' potential to rise up for socialist demands (such as *the right to work*) and are not

interested in it, whereas the ANC (the 'Alliance') bend over backwards in their attempt to quell workers with quasi socialist promises and revolutionary verbiage; the new imperialists, UK, USA and others' businesses in the RSA, rely on the ANC (the 'Alliance') to keep the working class in check. The DA and the 'Alliance' together support capital by leaps and bounds. The 'left' rhetoric from the 'Alliance' camp comes therefore with explicit purpose! The litmus test remains of course the extent to which workers' lives in the new South Africa have improved since 1994!

To remain in power, the DA's manifesto 'tail-ends' that of the ANC. For the DA, remaining in power is not the means, but *the end*, i.e. to perform their historical mandate of being the champion of economic security, free market interests and facilitatory of big business and elitism. Historically, the DA embodied the ultra-bourgeois conservative nature of the United Party, Progressive Party, Progressive Reform Party, Progressive Federal Party and the Democratic Party, with some approval of liberalism, as and when it suited them.

The primary parties (DA, EFF and ANC) represents the new capitalism and therefore cannot concurrently represent working class demands and interests. One cannot be a worker and a capitalist simultaneously, in the same way one cannot be a landlord and a tenant simultaneously. This simple principle must be understood by the RSA workers in order to free them from *pointlessly* granting their vote to the capitalist political parties. Workers are regarded as the enemy in capitalist society. That is why they pay with their lives when they say no to capitalist exploitation, subjugation and control. *There is no instance in history where workers and capitalists share power and control.* There is only evidence of hardship, revolution, battle, incarceration and death confronting workers in this regard. Historically, capitalists have defended their wealth,

property and lifestyle with arms and ammunition, i.e. death and destruction.

Political progress of workers in South Africa must be understood in terms of, (i) embarking upon an independent struggle, relying on their strength and experience, i.e. being represented by a party of their own, (ii) the adoption of permanent political education programme. These measures will secure (i) qualitative change in their intellectual and material conditions, (ii) development in all the spheres of social, economic, political, educational, environmental, cultural, psychological, health and technology, (iii) independence from influence by the political tendencies currently in place in South Africa. Only a politically backward working class can freely give their vote to a party that do not represent their demands and interests. Capitalism can only be defeated with the rise and enrichment of working class consciousness. The DA fears the advancement of workers as much as the ANC does. Only once the working class have extracted itself from backwardness through raising its class consciousness and through expressing its demands and interests in crystal clear manner, can they then be in a position to say 'no' to the bourgeois elite when it comes to the question of their vote. Workers can only vote for a party that will represent their demands and interests.

For example, the DA, in its struggle to survive the current South African conditions, have shown an astute eagerness to employ *any means available* to win seats in Parliament, to win votes from workers and market the party 'as similar as possible' to the ANC. The *DA shuffle*, i.e. Zille dance when she enters working class arenas, like Jacob Zuma's 'u Mashiniwam', are aimed at duping the working class while giving them nothing! The DA refers to the 'rainbow nation', that they fought for alongside Nelson Mandela, that they were 'in the struggle', et cetera. *It is not a crime under capitalism to*

ideologically exploit workers! Therefore, until workers discover their true strength and the *pointlessness* of granting their vote to bourgeois parties, they will continue to see some obscure purpose in voting for the owners of capital; hence the 'backwardness' of workers will persist.

Historically, the DA represents the formally franchised wealthy professionals, landowners, business owners, academic cabals, doctors, lawyers and politicians. This grouping of people in many ways have clung to the morality and values brought into this southern part of Africa by colonialists. This group enjoyed all the benefits given to them under British and Dutch rule and in present day South Africa, they continue to be affluent. Ultimately, it is this class that has *alienated* workers from having quality livelihoods; while their leadership may dress in overalls to extract the vote; the rank and file membership of the DA remains loyal to their class position, their class morality and class ideology. Workers have no place at their tables. Workers on the other end of the spectrum have never enjoyed these luxuries or owned large pieces of land. There is thus a major chasm between the 'owners' of capital and those who hire out their labour for a pittance. Yet, at national and local elections, workers vote this group into power. Worker 'backwardness' can be forgiven but it is not possible to forgive the cunning of the DA and the ANC, *et al.* at election time. The conservative political parties cannot show that they have acted in the interest of 'the quality of life' of workers; there is no evidence of this at all in respect of (i) building adequate quality housing (ii) employment, (iii) education, (iv) health, (v) gangster control in the 'township-camps', (vi) building clinics (vii) building crèches, (viii) focus on teenage pregnancy, rape and abuse of women, (ix) eradication of 'township-camps', (x) concerns and issues of the disabled and (xi) ending the Americanisation of the working class youths. These are matters

to be addressed by workers themselves. And if not, these negative tendencies will reduce the strength of the working class to pull themselves out of the quagmire. The conservative political parties are aware that crime ‘aid and abet’ the rule of the bourgeois. Crime in the ‘township-camps’ control workers and limit their free movement and their free association, thereby entrenching political ‘backwardness’ and a cheap labour pool. The conservative political parties will don their ‘struggle cloaks’ and come marching to the working class with crude ‘political’ arrogance to wrench their vote. Earning a pittance in the factories, working under master-servant relations, working in mines and farms under shocking conditions of work, lacking quality services and adequate liveability in their residential areas (camps) and denied any personal and social advancement, workers have fallen prey to the bourgeois system. Can workers continue to support the corporate elite, businesses and capitalist in their craving for power and position, for no gain at all?

Workers cannot continue to support class control and class supremacy in all aspects of the human development dimensions; nor can workers support the lavish lifestyle, superior education, comfort and wealth of the bourgeois. The conservative political parties facilitate economic relations for the wealthy via international banks, trade, industry and management of the JSE and the SARB. Its business as usual, but without the Apartheid system; with much economic decline and rise in poverty levels. The ANC is the *avant-garde* in government and feels a huge sense of entitlement to it, while the DA will consciously and subtly market their historical colonialist supremacy. Save for the historical legacy of the DA, if it could merge with the ANC, none would notice it at all!

Any claim made in the present time must bear some past evidence to prove or disprove it. A speech predicting the

future is futile, as there is no evidence to back it. Such a speech only serves to dupe workers into voting. Promises, that's all it is. Such speeches reveal the desperation of parties, spewing spin doctoring, jargon and wishful thinking upon the workers. When Tony Ehrenreich contested the mayoral position at the City of Cape Town in 2011, the DA leader called it "a conflict of interest". What constituted the conflict was never made clear. Was the fear that Tony represented a 'worker' element, coming from a working class background? Would that fear have 'broken' the DA's conservative tradition at the City of Cape Town municipality which too had 'British' colonialist traditions which the DA deemed to preserve?

Prior to 1994, the City of Cape Town was exclusively managed by the franchised and the affluent, represented by the UP, PP, PFP and DP. Prior to 1994, the DA forerunners (such as listed) were very cautious on whom they allowed into their party; indigenous people of South Africa were not allowed to become members, since the stalwart members of the forerunner parties would not have tolerated it, given their embedded conservatism and racism. It becomes important to examine the nature of party membership in order to understand the nature of the party relative to their actions, rhetoric and ideology. Both the ANC and the DA are now firmly footed in support of capital. Jargonistic phrases such as "decent work" in a 'free-liberalised' economy, obscures the 'politics of labour', the dignity of 'work' and the absence (refusal) of the right to work. The right to work is a worker demand. "Decent work" is questionable and undefined and does not fit this context. Dignified work, dignified wages and the demand for the right to work are appropriate in socialist scientific terms as it is loaded with workers' morality and ethics.

The International Labour Organisation's (ILO) is a watchdog organ for trade unions globally and for capitalist

‘labour’ interests; they define “decent work” as “productive work under conditions of freedom, equity, security and dignity, in which rights are protected and adequate remuneration and social coverage are provided” (ILO, 2010, p.1). In South Africa, workers have limited rights as the Constitution (1996) hardly applies to workers; for example, if the right to life was respected, Marikana would not have happened and Andries Tatane would still be alive! Andries Tatane was shot and beaten to death on 13.04.2011 by the instruments of the state. Just two examples. COSATU remained in the ‘Alliance’ after this incident! Surely *decent work* must be satisfactory to the workers, their families and the progress of their children. But how is the term defined relative to *the right to work*? Miners for example are paid very little, irrespective of their personal safety risks. So, is a definition for decent work plausible, as ‘one-size-cannot-fit-all’? Workers have the right therefore, to set down parameters for what they believe constitutes ‘decent work’ in a capitalist driven economy, where worker subjugation and exploitation is built into the fabric of work as per capitalist expectations. The point is made here, that workers must win the right to classless society and thereby establish a bottom-up definition of what would constitute remuneration for labour, in both tangible and nontangible terms. The words *decent* and *dignified* has major moral implications and should be adequately defined by capitalist publicists.

In South Africa racism is retained and based on fear of loss of political power, historical legacy, prejudice, suspicion, ignorance, nationalistic ideology, jealousy, envy, distrust and superiority. So many negative constructs. Only in a classless society, can racism be said to have no place at all! However, conservative political parties will employ racism to score points against their opponents. To workers, this too will become fruitless and pointless as the levels of their class consciousness

increase. “Rainbow people” has many racial undertones. A phrase cannot unite a nation, but deeds can. “Rainbow people” implies unity by skin colour, not by values, principles and unity of purpose. An educated working class will not be misled by empty phraseology of “dreams and promises” and other contextually weak quips offered to them by conservative political parties.

Should workers adopt the general strike as a weapon of choice, it would quickly cripple the entire economy; at that point capitalist cease to make promises and muster all they have to smash the workers’ movement; at that point they call on the army and the police to shoot and kill, in the name of preserving their brand of ‘democracy’. Workers should define ‘conservatism’ in relation to (i) the preservation of the bourgeois-capitalist status quo, (ii) a demoralised, poverty stricken working class, (iii) a systemic rift between capitalists and workers, (iv) a strong elitist class, (v) a government which supports capitalist social relations and (vi) an opportunistic steadily growing middle-class. When concluded, a vastly different picture emerges from the one carved by the bourgeois!

Definitions of conservatism:

Conservatism according to the Sullivan Principles 1977

Source: USA

“Non-segregation; Equal and fair employment; Pay scales revision; Training programs; Blacks and other non-whites in management; Improving the quality of life for blacks and other non-whites; Eliminate laws and customs that impede social, economic, and political justice”.

Conservatism in the United States

Source: Wikipedia

“Conservatism in the United States is a political and social philosophy characterized by respect for American traditions,

republicanism, support for Christian values, moral universalism, pro-business and anti-labor union, anti-communism, individualism, advocacy of American exceptionalism, and a defense of Western culture from the perceived threats posed by socialism, authoritarianism, and moral relativism”.

Conservatism according to Kofi Annan ‘Global Sullivan Principles’ and UN Globalisation

Source: Kofi Annan

“Credible in relation to the capitalist-imperialist ‘smokescreen’ ideology, presently, as ... millions are starving to death”.

Socialist principles and morality: Antithesis of conservatism

Source: The author

Governing and governance in terms of Peoples’ ‘open’, representative democracy; no class discrimination prevails. The abolition of all discriminatory practices in favour of equality, equity, representation, inclusivity, direct bottom-up engagement. The right to work and the production of houses as public and social value; economic collectivism, as opposed to economic individualism.

KILLING WORKING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

It comes as no surprise, that to the elite and middle class, there is not much concern about worker oppression, poverty and class discrimination in their society. They remark about it at their social occasions, among their own breed. There is no concern among them that these issues are dire socio-economic aberrations that impact negatively on society and the economy. Worker oppression is defined by various cruelties, joblessness, mass scale poverty, the oppression of women through prostitution, slavery, abuse, drugs and slave trafficking, ill-schooling, depression, ill-health, high prices for poor quality food, poor housing, et cetera. It is ironic, that the elite and middle class norms are heavily weighted in favour of *killing*, *suppression* and *censorship* of political astuteness and class consciousness among workers. They win arguments their petty rationale, arrogance and smug self-aggrandisement.

Workers are negatively affected by the socio-economic inequalities designed by the capitalist class to maintain the status quo. The ideological dogma and propaganda of the capitalist class is found in all forms of their media, impacting directly on the socio-political-educational-economic-environmental-psychological-cultural-health and technological dimensions of worker daily life. Workers have little choice but to ward off the 'daily' onslaught from the middle classes and elite. To succeed in doing so effectively, workers require (i) a permanent political education programme, (ii) commitment to the belief in a classless society, (iii) to raise their level of class consciousness and (iv) to build an independent political party of their own. It is for this reason that the socio-economic and ideological inequalities can only be addressed by the organised

working class (V I Lenin, *What is to be done?*). The nature, clarity and quality of worker demands formulated independently, are of utmost importance. These demands, expressed by the organised workers, will be the driving force of socio-economic *systemic transformation*; opposition from the elite and the middle class on this matter is fait accompli. Worker demands arise from the material conditions of workers, their deprivation, inequalities and daily difficulties; under these conditions workers cannot develop and progress relative to the dimensions for human advancement stated earlier. To this, one may add the workers' battle for ideological rights in society.

The danger of quasi, opportunistic '*socialists*' lurking around to derail the workers' struggle is common; their aim is to replace leadership, to teach falsities and to deconstruct scientific socialist principles. It is for this reason that workers' understanding of Lenin-Trotskyist principles must be sharp, clear and solid; strongly willed workers can never be duped, eye-washed or slaughtered by capitalist police, army and agents.

Let's examine the principles and imperatives governing workers' education and working class consciousness:

All aspects of government, business, social life, politics, psychology, economy, health, education, environment, industry, et cetera, are dominated by capitalist wants, demands, ideology, culture and modus operandi. Workers have a right to high standards and quality of life.

Capitalist modus operandi and modus vivendi serve to preserve capitalist lifestyle and social relations; workers' rights to social progress, equity, education, class consciousness and dignified liveability must be won.

A permanent worker education programme is vital for the coming into being of an independent working class party of South Africa, built upon sound socialist theory and history. Aspects of representation, engagement, inclusivity,

accountability, transparency and equity are important. Objectives and demands centre around equity, equality, quality of life, wellbeing, liveability, quality of food, opportunity and the development of workers' human dimensions.

Workers have to extract themselves from poverty, idiocy, degradation, duplicity and apathy. Workers must take responsibility for raising their class consciousness. The battle for dignity, visibility and voice; scientific analyses of situations, protection of socialist positions and rebuke of opportunism and corruption, are issues for igniting the workers' movement.

Reading and writing circles, group discussions and private reading are ways to build working class consciousness; expression thereof comes with speaking, action and thought.

Workers must understand the moral fibre of the ruling elite, their limitation and their strengths. Workers must use their vote as a bargaining tool in their battle for equity and equality.

Workers need to address the shortcomings in the capitalist Constitution (1996), viz a viz. the right to work and the right to dignified housing. Workers are not incapable of building their own homes, taking control of their residential areas and hence community ownership thereof in guaranteeing value generation and prosperity not only for workers but for the entire society, in respect of quality of life, social equity, stimulation of the economy and general wellbeing. An important task, is to eradicate anti-social entities from their communities, so that personal safety and freedom of movement is restored, sustained and monitored by workers themselves.

Political education and political demands must address the questions, matters and concerns pertaining to quality of life, social equity and equality with regard to the individual and the whole society, relative to the *socio-political-educational-economic- environmental- psychological- cultural- health and technological* dimensions of daily life.

A quality, universal, *scientific*, political education is necessary, in a permanent workers' education programme. This is a necessity for the success of an independent workers' party.

South Africa is home to many shades of socialism, found in conservative and left institutions; Some are Gramscist, Cornforth-ist, Trotskyist, Leninist, Marx-Engels classicists, Joe Slovi-ist, 'workerist' or Workers Movement-ists. All of these '*shades*' of pro-worker groups and individuals display fine catchphrases, adorned with the red flag, the hammer and the sickle and Lenin's face for added excitement! Workers must defend their demands against such shades, apply their unwavering position of *scientific socialism*, protect an independent working class party, conduct a permanent and developing class consciousness and maintain a highly astute 'vanguard' with political determination.

Summary: Capitalist defenders kill working class consciousness by belittling workers

Capitalist defenders from the elite and middle class, will do their best to misguide and mislead workers from achieving their goals; they will use Marxist rhetoric, intellectual arguments, arrogance and middle class status to brandish their 'intellectual' supremacy over workers. The following points may be regarded as the workers' toolbox to fend off these well disguised onslaughts from capitalist defenders and charlatans:

- Every effort from workers to resist capitalist defenders and eradicate backwardness, adds to raising class consciousness. Workers' class consciousness is not negotiable;
- A permanent political education drive by workers will serve to enrich and advance class consciousness among workers;
- Advancing class consciousness is necessary for building an independent workers' party of South Africa. Most

important for the party, is that the demands which will form the bedrock of the party, must be formulated ‘collectively’ from each of the socio, political, educational, economic, environmental, psychological, cultural, health and technological dimensions of the workers’ daily life;

- *Socialist-scientific* reading builds class consciousness. It is the antithesis of bourgeois-capitalist political writing as it is based on dialectical-materialist principles and morality which stems directly from workers’ conditions of life;
- Socialism should not be confused or confounded with communism. Workers’ demands are socialist demands, as it infuses democratic imperatives of representation (inclusion), openness, equity, accountability, efficacy, feedback, transparency, efficacy, sustainability, and recall of vanguard members in the party;
- Collective decision making replaces bureaucratic, totalitarian, dictatorial and autocratic styles of leading. Secrecy and power distancing should be cast aside.
- A workers’ party can enter into alliances only in so far as its own demands are not diminished or negotiated;
- A workers’ vanguard must implement the demands of the party. It must guide, inspire learning, solidify workers’ demands, needs and aspirations towards the attainment thereof. A workers’ vanguard must issue a newsletter;
- Workers must show loyalty to their party where freedom of speech is an imperative. Workers rank and file members must question motives of the vanguard and guard against following blindly;
- Agenda setting must be open (top-down and bottom-up);
- A workers’ party must monitor and discuss risks and threats from the capitalist organs / entities / individuals.

SABC TV, RADIO AND THE AMERICANISATION OF THE WORKING CLASS

First and foremost, the state media, the SABC TV and RADIO (referred to as SABC), has been silent on the subjugation of the masses but fully participative in the middle class rise from the dust from 1994. The workers struggle (or the ANC's forgotten struggle) for "a better life for all" never reaches the SABC in any profoundly significant way. Secondly, the SABC have blindly promoted racist 'white' and 'black' terminology. Thirdly, they have imported the worst 'bottom of the barrel', anti-educational US media, knowing fully, that it is the working class that will be absorbing it principally. Fourthly, needless to say, they are responsible for importing 'Americanisation' products and constructs into South Africa, via their media purchases. The SABC is no doubt in the lap of the ANC. Thus, that the SABC and the ruling elite are jointly responsible for perpetuating the backwardness of the South African working class and therefore too, the sluggish economy of South Africa, as these resultants are tied at the hip! Hence, the media and 'tacitly' ANC, are jointly and directly responsible for inhibiting the development of working class consciousness in South Africa. The SACP is also 'silent' on this matter!

One is repelled by hearing the constant emphasis, copious employ and reference to a section of the South African population, as 'black' or 'black African' (cf. Chapter 11). Is the practice an SABC obsession? I find the constant employ of the word 'black' pointless, racist, archaic, nationalistic, self-defacing, derogatory and anachronistic. Why so you may ask? SABC persists in the employ of blatantly skew and unscientific (baseless) terminology. There is no need for it! Are Indians in India referring to themselves as brown? Or Finnish referring to

themselves as 'white'? Or Somalians calling themselves 'black'? Did we learn such crude referencing from Apartheid or from the USA? Are Chinese referring to themselves as 'red'? Crude forms of racism confound attempts by workers to raise class consciousness and it annihilates the acquisition of 'internationalist' perception(s) among South Africans. The use of racist terminology is best left to colonialists, the colour-blind and the local idiocracy.

A workers' political education programme must deal with understanding the process of American insurgence, American aggression, American ownership, 'Americanisation' and USA 'acculturation' influences, in order to fully understand the destructive impact of USA media, intended to manipulate thought, culture and behaviour of the South African working class, who are presently (post 1994) in a quagmire. Since the SABC imports *these* programmes for the SATV, we must question their awareness of the epistemological impact it has on the South African working class. Is the SABC actively in support of the ruling elite in admonishing intellectual advancement among the working class?

Allowing USA media to entrench worker backwardness in South Africa is criminal! Why should South Africans allow USA media to subtly brainwash our citizens? We are well versed with USA aggression on the world stage; why should we welcome USA norms in South Africa? We have also embraced, quite knowingly, the process of affirmative action, OBE, BBEE, and 'McDonaldisation'! SABC stands squarely *unopposed* to these USA products; the SABC adopted it, adapted it and passed it on uncritically to the masses in South Africa. Surely there must be an objective explanation for South Africa's show of unquestioning subservience for USA media products! It is the ill-educated South African working class who are the victims of these imports! This matter is best left to a

working class party of South Africa for further explication, research and feedback to the SABC!

What should the perspectives and ideology of the SABC in a 'developmental' society be? Considering we need an educated workforce to make our economy work.

Given the murkiness of political ideology in the ruling 'Alliance', it is not surprising that the SABC suffers the same malaise. SABC stands accused of not having a balanced developmental role (i) in relation to raising social consciousness among citizens, (ii) in the 'intellectual-political' development of trainee journalists, (iii) in relation to the developing social relations in the RSA, and (iv) in facilitating a truly non-racial South African cultural identity. Should the SABC be a catalyst in the *systemic* transformation of our society, or a vehicle for the 'Americanisation' of our society, especially the youth? One may ask why Americanisation? One acknowledges that the SABC TV is an instrument of the capitalist ruling party and therefore it would promote programs in-line with that ideology; the fundamental question remains whether the SABC is *covertly* aiming its 'brainwashing' tactics at the working class youth living in the 'township-camps'? Television has a developmental impact on learning if it is the sole medium of entertainment and learning for working class families living in 'township-camps'. The elite and middle class have access to broad and varied 'intellectual shapers', stimulation and means, that their economic and social status provide, e.g. travelling, concerts, exhibitions, et cetera. Not so for the working class and unemployed youth. This brings into question (i) the intention, educational content, learning and social values transferred to citizens, (ii) the impact on the psychological wellbeing of citizens and (iii) the long term vision, tone and quality of SABC radio and TV in South Africa. Is it a question of *quo vadis* SABC?

Given the history of South Africans under Apartheid, given the need for raising the human development dimensions of workers in a developing South Africa and given the complexity of the diverse population, one would expect the SABC to reflect intuitive understanding of the development goals of the South African community and not the ruling party's top down instructions! Alas! It is idealistic to think so. SABC deadens our senses. Citizens are fed indigestible fodder, loaded with substandard and intellectually bankrupt programmes, i.e. for toddlers, children, teens, adults and the aged. It is necessary to question the SABC on why they chose the path of selling US garbage to RSA citizens? Are their deliverables to the masses to be classed as public and social value? It is difficult to grasp!

There is no doubt that radio and television have a powerful and subconscious impact on workers' human development, impacting their cognitive (intellectual) and connotative (emotional) development daily. Perhaps psychomotor development as well, i.e. acting out violently after being exposed to violent 'gangsta' movies as an example. While radio is an interactive medium, television is not. There is a pressing need for a free exchange of ideas on the role of SABC TV in South African society and it must be consistently and overtly encouraged. South African workers should engage in serious, open debate on these matters and hence express their interests.

The SABC TV must become (from a socio-political-educational view) a genuine public value and as such reflect public purpose, in particular, to be cognisant of the needs and demands of workers for quality of life, given the type of inequality workers experience daily! Obviously, the middle class and elitists will not agree! The SABC TV and radio should provide the means through which a society is shaped, exploring the linkages between speech, thought and action. What South Africans have learnt as a nation and what South Africans aspire

to, differ widely and should become a focus point, linked to what South Africans will eventually determine as *identity*.

The reference to 'black' persons is racist and is perpetuated throughout the SABC industry, as a norm! Is the nation ready for 'black' nationalism? How is the use of racist terminology reconciled by the SABC? A new Apartheid? Why the obsession? Why the fixation on an inanimate and superfluous nontangible term? The constant churning of 'black' in the media militates against a *unified* universal conception of ourselves as a nation. As a learning organisation and 'knowledge' industry, radio and television should direct its program objectives at a developing nation, at meaningful social outcomes, an aid to learning in all fields of work and entertainment, raising consciousness on all socio-economic and educational matters. This implies that workers should undertake an ideological battle with the SABC and radio, in order to manifest their demands regarding worker issues; the constant employ of racist terminology militates against the workers' international learning, which impacts workers negatively. Workers need international worker political education programmes, free of racial jargon such as 'white and black', which is ultimately divisive, superfluous and pointless. Racism and racialisation was the ploy of the previous regime, but that's just history now! Its perhaps relevant in the USA, but this is the RSA! We do not have the legacy of copious regime changes, nor the legacy of wiping out 568 native American Indian tribes!

One may argue that the National Development Plan (NDP 2011) has perhaps just touched the surface for a 'South African' government and governance transformation. Note, the NDP does not aspire to *systemic transformation*, and as such, will not succeed. Nor can SABC transform itself, given its systemic, structural ties to colonialist bureaucracy, paternalism,

hierarchy and autocratic rule. The SABC, as a state-capitalist organ, currently employs racist terminology as a best practice marketing tool, to satisfy its loyal, but mainly middle class listeners, who are quite happy to be referred to as 'black'. What other reason could there be for such a trend? It is imperative therefore to educate workers in the art of dialectical materialism, *socialist scientific* analyses and simple deductive logic (common sense), utilising their demands, as a reference point. SABC should be cognisant of (i) the subtle ways in which they tip-toe around the misgivings and declining image of the ANC, (ii) how they aid the developmental aspects of South Africans, (iii) how they promote or do not promote working class interests and development, (iv) how they respond to spin doctoring from trade union officials and ministers (MP's), (v) how they promote the news in string-thin snippets, (vi) how they maintain their status quo as a 'shaper' of information and knowledge, (vii) being indifference to working class political education, and (viii) why they remain loyal to USA media?

How may one assess the value generated to society by the SABC, over let's say a year? In advanced societies emphasis is placed on utility, expediency, social goods, public interest, public purpose, socio-political education, raising political consciousness, the general quality of social relations and liveability. Freedom of expression and a radical / analytical mass-based media agency therefore assumes its 'productive' role in society through the linking of two development components, (i) the physical, infrastructural apparatus of mass-based media, radio, TV being based centrally as well as locally to encourage interaction of and between citizens,

(ii) an embedded social dynamism, stimulating energetic public discourse with mass media in dismantling social fragmentation and replacing it with openness, ideological exchange and social hegemony, i.e. a path towards classless

society, narrowing the gap between rich and poor, The only thing is that SABC talk about the 'poor', but never gives them a voice. Does SABC raise matters pertaining to capitalist greed, individualism and blindness regarding wealth accumulation. A universal approach to the *raison d'être* for the mass media instrument in producing a socially valued end product includes the production of 'social connectedness', tolerance for diversity, building a national identity through participation and public engagement, knowledge sharing, establishing links internationally, mutual ownership of ideas and stimulating positive social relations on matters pertaining to the workers' rightful and dignified place in society. Does the SABC wish to implement some of these opportunities?

Eventually, when workers are adequately and independently organised, they would be in a position to pressure the SABC for a timeslot, to air the permanent political education programme for workers, described and outlined in this book. Under the present conditions, the SABC-ANC-Alliance would not concede to such an idea; for the last three decades it remained off their agenda.

Youth and children's programmes with moral themes of political substance should not be excluded. USA children's' programmes don't do this. Innovation, design and boldness based on the needs and demands for growing intellect should be the driving factors for the SABC. Presently there is a 'closed-cocoonist-inward focus' driving the SABC, a tradition dictated by crudity in thought, errors of thought and 'blind-spots' or just sheer rejection of programmes having social 'learning' value. The working class is excluded and alienated from all social and political organs and programmes in the RSA. The utilisation of the SABC for working class political and general education is a fundamental demand which will expand workers' participation in socio-political speaking, thought, polemics and action.

The power of television (in a township house with little privacy) in shaping behaviour and consciousness is undisputed. South African workers remain uncritical of the choice of content of programmes and assume much of it to be the norm. How the SABC determines its selection of programmes is a matter for the working class agenda; only they can object or request more meaningful (relevant) programming. Community organisations, trade unions, schools, social institutions, woman's groups, educational institutions, academia, worker organisations and local newspapers have not engaged the SABC on their role in a developing society and the choices they make in selecting programmes on behalf of the nation. Is it *fait accompli* that the programmes 'must be' of American origin? How do media lobby groups in the RSA assist with program 'quality assessment'? Against which criteria? Who formulates these criteria? There is a high volume of violence depicted in 'soapies', children and adult programmes, which televise physical and verbal abuse such as fighting, women bashing, knifing, shooting, punching, smashing. We have enough of it in our country; we do not require reinforcement thereof.

This in essence, has elements of fetid *Americanisation*. What is its moral impact on South African society where violence is excessively high, particularly in children's programmes? The SABC can be blamed for directing these values at working class families! And not without justification!

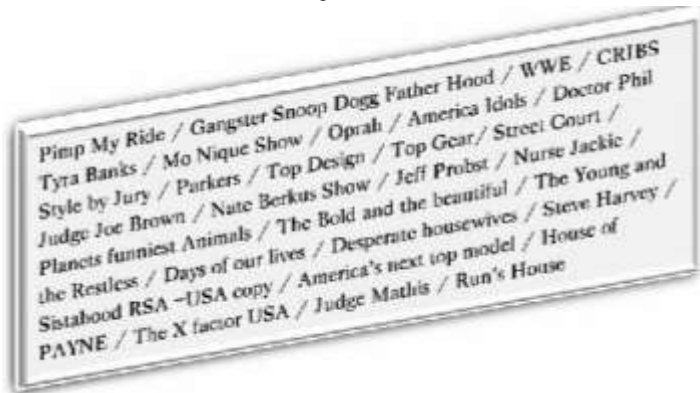
The import and screening of American programmes, i.e. the 'Americanisation' process, subtly endorsed by the state, is a disservice to working class youths and children who are directly and negatively affected by it; 'gangsta' culture is rife in the 'township-camps' and is reinforced by the media peddling American 'gangsta' role modeling. Working class youths internalise 'gangsta' culture. Workers cannot allow their youth and children to degenerate socially and morally. As the working

class youth and children are deprived of quality education and quality entertainment, they are further undermined and vanquished by the import of USA 'public enemy' and 'tupac shakur-snoopdog' consciousness. Added to this is the proliferation and intensity of the 'township-gangs' to which youths and children are drawn and coerced. Does the result satisfy the state? They are certainly quiet about it, as is the SABC who peddle it. This is another concern for a working class party in South Africa, as the government is inert and perfunctory on the matter.

In townships where access to theatres, museums, libraries, safe places to socialise, cinemas and indoor recreation areas are derelict or non-existent, television is the central learning and entertainment means in the home. If the SABC, indirectly the state, sells inferior, anti-social and non-educative material to the working class children, teenagers and adults, then they are liable to be charged of the crime ... it can be non-other than criminal. When youth and children are fed a diet of violence, then the state must be held liable for the crime. But since the Apartheid state also utilised criminality to keep workers 'in check', courts of law will examine the 'norm' and rule in favour thereof, *as it applies to the working class!* The courts will justify the norm, even if the norm is detrimental to workers, but which favours the elite! That's bourgeois justice! The result of the SABC's choice of *hostile* and *violent* programmes on the thought, action and speech of scholars, youth and adults is damaging, given that the working class environment is excessively violent at present. SABC impacts tremendously on the human development dimensions of adults, youths and children in the 'township-camps'; below are a few mechanisms by which learning, comprehension, internalisation, interpretation and action (behaviour) is influenced by the SABC:

- The *Americanisation* of working class children and youth is promoted by the SABC rather than universalism. The USA is portrayed as being a ‘blueprint’ for style and culture from which, ‘gangsta’ mannerisms, ideas, fashion, lifestyle, acculturation, manner of speaking (acquiring accents), food, socialisation, politics, economics and material desires are learned, adopted and internalised as the ‘norm’ and as superior to that which is South African;
- Working class children and youth are deprived of independent intellectual and scholastic development stemming from a wide range of global learning sources, not exploited by the SABC;
- *Anti-social behaviour* (relative to sexuality, sex, drug abuse, gansterism, abuse of women and children, ‘black and white’ race stereotyping, et cetera) is portrayed as the ‘norm’ in a society where these practices are adjoined to chronic criminal activity. SABC videos and films are laden with anti-social behaviour as a selling point. SABC continues to import these, in spite of the outcry against it. In South Africa, citizens have denounced it for its negative impact on society and the individual. Is it fair and moral to subject working class children and youth to all of this?
- *Childrens’ animations* are embedded with depictions of violence. Children learn violent behaviour from perceived ‘norms’ from these screenings; unlike the Indian, Japanese and Chinese childrens’ animations, depicting beauty, natural-instinctive love for nature, love, generosity and meaning. When children are exposed to anti-social values as normatives, they grow to seek more of it. The USA is a key exporter of violence in childrens’ animation, as witness in the *Donald Duck* genre. But it’s fine for those who are pro American! It is notable too that these programmes are *repeated by SABC ad infinitum!*

- Abusive language accompanying violent behaviour and anti-social attributes in movies, animations and serial programmes screened, is prolific on SABC. Anti-social constructs employed as the norm, by capitalist media organs, are indicative of socio-capitalist decline. The assumption made by the SABC, that the nation thrives on abuse, violence and crudity, is reactionary and a reflection of their amoral leadership.



While the SABC promotes *middle class materiality* to a working class who cannot afford clothes, food, household goods et cetera, via the programmes and advertisements, feeds the demand for goods by the middle class and promotes middle class social relations. SABC serves the interests of the state-capitalist agenda, demonstrating indifference to workers needs and demands in a brutally unequal society. E-TV brings the USA to the RSA. South Africa's cultural values, morality, ethics and products are viewed as inferior to that of the USA.

In summary, a working class party of South Africa should establish (i) opposition to anti-social TV programmes in a society considered 'developing', (ii) the degree to which working class families are opposed to it, (iii) the effect of middle class TV programmes screened for the working class, (iv) what

workers think of ‘middle class screenings’, such as *Top Billing!* Workers have a fundamental role to play in the formulation of SABC’s policies and programmes. Workers must be involved in developing a new approach to SATV programmes; to resolve its ailing stagnation, inertia, quality of programmes and utterly *skew* focus.

CONCLUSION

South African workers are yet to assert their rightful place in the history of South Africa post 1994. Developing working class consciousness is suppressed by a wide range of actors, which keeps the working class in socio-political and economic backwardness. Poor general schooling, small poor quality housing, lack of social services, gangsterism, malnutrition, poverty, unattractive amenities, lack of amenities, destitution and exploitation is the norm in township-camps. The middle class and the elite do not suffer this cataclysm; they have financial, institutional and infrastructural support. Besides, their human development dimensions are all in superb shape!

Does the current South African workforce have the capacity, maturity, consciousness and competencies to contribute to a dynamic economy? Some would say yes, but very undeveloped. Government and the ruling elite have neglected these factors as well as the right to work demand. What does the working class own in South Africa? The answer is bleak! Hence, workers suffer gross development deficits. Naturally, the elite will not take responsibility for it. They will blame the ANC, and correctly so, given the failures coming to a head in 1994! Orania, always appears in ones' mind as a blight on the South African landscape. Why were the workers of South Africa not given a city of their own? Do we laugh or cry over it?

The working class of South Africa is compelled to (i) build an independent working class party of South Africa, (ii) formulate their demands in line with the NINE human development dimensions stated throughout this book, (iii) carefully scrutinize middle class insurgents and entryists who aim to destabilise the workers party with their *smartness* and

arrogance, (iv) sustain a permanent worker political education programme, (v) sustain the mobilisation and organisation of workers on the basis of building class consciousness in line with socialist scientific principles, (vi) insist upon quality general universal education for all South African citizens and (vii) achieve classless society.

Workers must protect their organisations from totalitarianism, fragmentation, dictatorship, authoritarianism, bullyism, greed, wealth accumulation, autocracy, plutocracy, bribery and corruption as well as the deceitfulness from power hungry political cabals. Workers must strengthen their party through a tight regimen and cautiousness in the selection of a vanguard; workers must remain critical, analytical and exhibit socialist morality and principles to keep the party robust.

The advancements made under capitalism in social life, infrastructure, economics, technology and social development, by people's organisations, in academic research, in the protection of natural resources and environment, energy, and the social sciences, should be utilised in advancing the cause of the working class and building classless society. The eradication of all forms of discrimination and demand for equity are important worker demands. In chapter 2 of the Constitution, (Sections 23, 26 and 27) the word "access" does not mean "right"; nor does "right" mean "access". These words are conflicting, its either the one or the other, it cannot be both, in the same way as a lion cannot be an ant and ant cannot be cat, simply because the nature and character thereof of starkly different, no doubt a bourgeois mess-up!

TERMINOLOGY EXPLAINED

What is a definition?

A definition provides clear and logical meaning to a concept, context, idea or construct. It is a means through which a scholar understands matters. Only once the definition / term is clearly stated by the author, may it be accepted or refuted by the reader. The definitions stated below are intended to lend meaning and logic to socialist terminology, social systems and sub systems, i.e. will point to applicability (practice) and theory. Argumentation without first establishing definition, cannot seriously assist a political education process. Applicability (utility), logical (scientific) ease of seeing meaning and social value derived from the concept, context, idea or construct, protects the integrity of the definition and contributes to learning and understanding. Therefore, a definition must be understood, interpreted and in principle accepted before it is applied to the prevailing material conditions or situation. An observed phenomenon, can have more than one definition.

Acculturation

When a nation, or groups or individuals internalise and adopt the mannerisms, ways and explicitations of a foreign culture and practice it as their own, for whatever reason, one then refers to it as a process of 'acculturation': As in *Americanisation*; when a nation, or groups or individuals take on the mannerisms, ways and culture of the USA, in the belief that it is superior or smarter or imbued with greater value than their own.

Working class backwardness

An acceptance of domination by an oppressor. Workers' acceptance of capitalism. A working class not shaped by their own political destiny. A class that relies on charlatan leaders to

lead them astray; a mindless slogan mongering class easily eye-washed; a class having an 'under-developed' working class consciousness. A politically un-schooled working class. Conditions under which a working class is deprived of political education, leading to (i) little understanding of one's own exploitation, reinforced by lack of political and general education and cognitive deprivation, (ii) a lack of awareness of one's class position, characterised by factors such as lack of intellectual development, lack of quality schooling in languages, mathematics, science, world view, politics, sociology and law, contributing to an 'infantile' political consciousness; 'backwardness' driven by socio-economic conditions preventing the intellectual and political development of workers (as in South Africa) under ruling class ideology. Cognitive and psychological under-development leading to a poor and skew understanding of critical human development dimensions required for raising quality and standards of life of workers. A working class trapped in tribalism, chieftainship or lineage. A subdued and inert working class that depends on his / her master for subsistence.

Capitalist economic relations

Antithesis of working class economic relations. Determined and dictated by the ruling class, the owners of the means of production, property, capitalist socio-economic relations assume a mode of existence based on greed, individualism, economism and alienation (exclusion). Further elaboration of capitalist economic relations involves individual wealth accumulation, value of money manipulation, a fragmented society, exploitation of the working class and ownership of resources by the capitalist class. Workers are expected to accept capitalist economic relations, i.e. capitalist social and economic norms.

Working class consciousness

Socialist conception of society. Full awareness of ones' working class position in society in socialist scientific terms, i.e. in dialectical materialist terms. The ability to intellectually grasp and advance ones' class position (status) and class purpose in terms of class values and morality. Rejection of wealth and private property accumulation. A belief in collectivism. The demand by workers to raise the quality of the critical human development dimensions, shows heightened class consciousness. The degree to which workers aspire to fulfil their political manifesto, programme and demands or agenda is dependent on class consciousness.

Classless society

A scientific solution to end class discrimination (and all other forms of discrimination stemming from it) and the domination of workers by capitalist-imperialists globally. Classless society is the next logical socio-economic phase after capitalist-imperialist destruction and decline, based on the collective ownership and equal distribution of wealth, dependent upon (i) an international socialist system, (ii) advanced political consciousness of workers, (iii) social peace and wellbeing, (iv) workers struggle to protect and defend the development of human dimensions so as to ensure high standards and quality of life for all citizens. All citizens participate and pursue the production and preservation of common social goods and objectives. Creating a balanced society; ending the wealth gap; bringing about social equilibrium.

Continuous political education programme for workers

To raise class consciousness among workers. A necessary means to question and counter bourgeois status quo. A permanent political education programme for workers; to lift the workers

of South Africa from *political backwardness*. A platform for socialist theory and practice. The programme would constitute a series of political engagements on topics ranging from political philosophy, current political analyses of government systems, revolutions, to public speaking and debating skills. Political education should include discussions on mathematics, geography, sciences, technology and chemistry as these disciplines (scientific knowledge) provide the bases for the understanding of *scientific socialism*, social systems, strategies, ideologies, processes and decision making in order to improve the quality and standards of life as well as the utility of the products produced by a government. A means to an end; the end being working class leadership, a Working Class Party of South Africa and bringing about classless society.

Democracy

A politically integrated system of various freedoms and way of living in 'open', secular society. A political ideology of well planned, organised freedoms, for all citizens to protect and practice. Democratic free speech does not imply hurtful, disrespectful and damaging speech to citizens; it is non-discriminatory and should be facilitatory of human dimension goals. The forgone social ethics applies to government and well as governance and representation, incorporating accountability, transparency, openness, legitimacy, inclusivity feedforward, feedback, equity, efficacy, sustainability, adaptability, trust and respect. In business dealings, democratic relationships emerge when such principles are applied. Whereas class discrimination is considered undemocratic, classless society is considered democratic. To respect the will to self-determination by diverse communities, groups and individuals, is considered to be democratic. Democracy is not utopian, as it is a realistic way to survive under difficult, complex, intractable conditions of life.

Dialectics

Dialectics is a socialist scientific method of debate / discourse / deliberative means which workers apply in engagement with capitalists. Historical dialectics focus on the historical conditions of workers; materialist dialectics focus on the material conditions of workers. Both are used in discourse with capitalists. Capitalists steer away from the dialectical (socialist scientific) method as it exposes the contradictions in capitalism very early on in a pursuing debate. Discursive dialogue is to develop ideas, whereas deliberative dialogue is aimed at coming to decisions or consensus.

The purpose of dialectical debate is to establish (i) *historical analysis* as factual and undisputable, as the facts / evidence is clear, realistic, genuine and true, (ii) *the material analysis* / context / conditions as ‘known’ objects, verifiable and tangible. For example: the Joe Slovo house type / model is a historical event, which is near impossible to refute; the fact that the ruling elite continues to build these ‘houses’ is factual too. Hence any debate relative to it has both material and historical bases. The morality thereof (a nontangible element) may thus be established through collective and collaborative engagement, in order to arrive at a decision or policy issue. Dialectics, (argumentation) is conducted for the establishment of revolutionary clarity, furthering workers’ political education and in order to further the aims for a classless society, along with a host of other workers’ demands. In addition to the above, dialectical engagement must promotes raising the standard and quality of life for workers, their wellbeing, equal opportunity and liveability standards.

Dialectical approach

It is the skill of examining socio-economic-political and any other dimension of human life, utilising socialist scientific

inquiry and *historical-materialist* contextual analyses, in order to formulate a strong position, decision or demand. It is engaging in systematic and systemic, evidential argument, reasoning, debate and exchange of ideas, in search of the most beneficial and democratic outcome for society. It is the end result which is important and which is justified by the achievement of worker demands and interests in favour of classless society; where ideology is met with practice (praxis). Trotsky argues that socialists do not resort to *any* means, but to *moral* means for achieving their ends. Unlike capitalists and pseudo Leninists-Trotskyists, where amoral means are employed to achieve their ends.

Entryism

Borrowed from Leon Trotsky: The French Turn, 1930. *Entrist* means to enter an organisation, with the hope of changing it from within. In South Africa, many *entryists*, formally opposed to the ANC, joined the ANC before and in 1994, opportunistically, to find better ‘paid’ prospects and careers in politics. The *entryists* came from ‘obscure and small’ political organisations in South Africa, such as the New Unity Movement (previously Non-European Unity Movement) and SOYA. The *entryists*, drawn from the middle class, were, prior to 1994, opposed to the ANC. *Entryism* is imbued with the characteristics of influence, duplicity, opportunism, dishonesty, nepotism, chicanery, greed, and cunning. The *entryists* not very astute politically, may or may not have had the expertise and foresight required for their new positions in the ruling class government, but were willing to take up the position and obtain a lucrative salary.

Equilateral relationships

Equilateralism is a catalytic tool in the explication of balance, stability and convergence; three components, constructs or factors may ‘converge’, such as speech, action and thought, or, education, organisation and political ideology. Equilateral

triangles are in a balanced state, structurally. In social science this may refer to a stable, balanced community, where all needs are met adequately.



Equilateralism is a tool for understanding the relationships, analyses, dynamics and integrated (interconnected) as opposed to fragmented) perspectives between *three* equally weighted components, such as communication, community action and service delivery or, nationalisation, state capitalism and working class development, or housing, education and health. See examples in diagram above. The concept of equilateralism helps to establish relationships, meaning, outcomes and course of action, between three entities, the objective being to establish a balanced or stable set of condition.

Human development dimensions

All citizens, irrespective of class status, need to grow, develop and advance in the domains of social, economic, political, educational psychological, health, environmental, cultural and technological domains of life. Only when this is attained, may we state that we have a balanced life. Workers in South Africa have deficits (are deprived) of growth and development in each one of these domains, while the upper class have an abundance of learning in each one of these spheres of life. The Bill of Rights comes to effect when these domains of life have been developed to the extent that satisfies the individual. The demands stated on pages 165 and 166 may be attained only when these *interrelated, integrated and interconnected* human development dimensions have been attained. The government

and ruling Alliance state itself holds a fragmented policy in this regard, obviously to suit its own *economic-individualist* purposes. Hence, the continuous political education programme for workers is vital. One element cannot be neglected at the expense of another as they tie up and constitute the whole being. Progress in these domains of life, indicate a better quality of life and hence greater personal happiness, confidence, leadership ability and social progress.

Scientific Socialism

“To make a science of socialism, it had first to be placed upon a real basis” (Engels, F. 1883). Socialism is a social science: In employing socialist materialist dialectics, i.e. scientific socialism, it becomes necessary to argue on the basis of, not hearsay, thumb-sucking or wishful thinking, but on the basis of evidence, obtained from any of the human dimensions of development given earlier. Socialism becomes a science which is evidential, material, tangible, based in history, proof, reason and logic.

Advancing socialist thought, ideas formulation and action in shaping classless society and socialist economy, utilises principles of dialectics, empiricism, collectivism and internationalism, i.e. which subsists in reason, scientific bases, premises, principles and perspectives; socialism applies morality and ethical methodology in interpreting material, tangible and nontangible human elements to all aspects of daily life. Whereas socialists demand systemic explanation and concatenation, capitalist thrive on fragmentation, power distancing and greed.

Scientific socialist thinking, acting and debating, shapes and sharpens worker consciousness. Scientific socialism rids thought of the contradictions that is found inherent in capitalist society; by implication, scientific socialism cannot exist without a developed class consciousness among workers and is based on an advanced or advancing working class.

Socialists rely on scientific foundations and formulation, not on the opinions of reckless critics, bourgeois academics or career politicians.

Scientific socialism exposes jargon, empty ‘socialist’ phraseology, unscientific terminologies and spin-doctoring from ‘opportunistic socialist leaders’ whose main interest it is to confuse and to prevent successful emancipation from capitalism. Capitalist schooling treats the economic, social and pure sciences as independent, fragmented fields, whereas in socialism, the links and inter-relationships between the fields are integrated, in the interest of inquiry (and application) into mechanisms that would best advance social and economic relations in classless society. Scientific socialism compels workers to state their demands for their full engagement in the economy, to drive the economy and to extract benefit therefrom.

“To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the modern proletariat. To thoroughly comprehend the historical conditions and thus the very nature of this act, to impart to the now oppressed proletarian class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish, this is the task of the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, scientific Socialism”.

1883. Socialism: Utopian and Scientific. Frederick Engels

Social Relations

Determined by the current capitalist economic system, social relations define the interaction, degrees of equity, communication and cooperation between citizens, the opportunity for public expression, the satisfaction gained therefrom, expressed through public mediums of education, art, culture, music, dance, religion and other forms of social engagement. Class discrimination, a determinant of social

relations, alienates workers from the mainstream of society, economy and education, depriving workers of quality, universal liveability and the enjoyment of advanced social relations, causing chasms between social groups within one country. Social relations depend on the way or manner in which social classes are enabled to utilise the countries' resources to produce 'social' goods (benefits), social wellbeing and social interaction. In classless society, citizens enjoy 'communal' social wealth. Economic individualism thrives in capitalist social relations, while economic collectivism thrives in socialist social relations.

The right to work

The right to work conforms to full employment and hence a fully productive workforce. The economy cannot be disadvantaged because workers have available to them, *all* the means to contribute to an effective operating economy. The right to work gives workers a 'determining' voice in the workplace, which enables an 'open', and dynamic 'productivity', ameliorated from 'below' utilising 'feedforward' apparatus. Discriminating between who works and who does not, divides the workforce in a barbaric manner. The right to work equates with the right to participate fully in economic productive life, thereby contributing to a well-balanced society. The right to work, a people's democratic right, ensures workers the right to life, without the noose and threat from capitalists of becoming unemployed, i.e. the removal of the right to work and the removal of the worker from the mainstream economy. Capitalists enjoy the right to employ workers according to their needs, introducing unfairness and placing the power to employ workers in their hands. Usurping such power is immoral, unethical and inequitable. Yet, according to the Constitution (1996) it is permissible (cf. page 166). The demand for the right to work removes the control of employment from capitalist and

places it in the hands of workers, thereby consolidating the right of workers to (i) develop the country in terms of infrastructure (schools, libraries, hospitals, roads, et cetera), (ii) participate in the economy on their terms, along with experts in the field of international economic growth and development, trade and investment on the ground of judicious and strategic exchange, (iii) restoration of the workers dignified place in the economy, (iv) introduce balanced development, not skew (unbalanced) development. The right to work forces infrastructural and economic development which raises the quality of life and eradicates 'township-camps' as workers set upon rebuilding their communities with all the conveniences currently enjoyed only by the wealthy. Workers in South Africa do not enjoy this right and opportunity. A working class party of South Africa must place the right to work top on their agenda. Workers have the right to dignified life, a wage that is non-exploitative, in an environment that is safe and conducive to social wellbeing.

Working class consciousness

The recognition of one's own exploitation and subjugation. A worker uneducated in socialist schooling, i.e. socialist scientific thinking, equates with low working class consciousness; this implies too that such a worker may be manipulated by capitalist class consciousness, which is highly contradictory. Political and particularly socialist education, along with the workers' genuine abhorrence of his own exploitation by capitalists, along with the abhorrence of wealth accumulation by the capitalist bosses, are key factors in driving working class consciousness. Working class consciousness relates to the level of awareness, insight, introspection and critique workers have attained of the capitalist socio- political - economic relations governing society, given their own exclusion from it. The development of class consciousness erodes the degree to which capitalists are able to

exploit workers. Also, an equal and classless society can only come about with the cessation of worker exploitation in the field of work, play and progress. Raised working class consciousness implies an advanced working class that is ready to assume state control. The development of working class consciousness is dependent upon the political and general educational levels of workers. Worker consciousness is retarded and stymied when (i) workers aspire to bourgeois norms and status, (ii) chase middle class values, (iii) acquire material goods beyond ones' needs, (iv) voting for bourgeois candidates, (v) being uncritical of current socio-political- economic relations. The ability to intellectually realise and further ones' own class position, status and purpose, in terms of its values and morality through engagement in struggle against capitalist exploitation.

Working class morality

The right to work in a dignified environment. Upholding and respecting the principles and standards for democratic rule and social relations, equity, equality, inclusiveness, transparency, honesty, integrity, dignity, reliability, accountability, openness, fairness, representativeness and responsiveness. Respect for the right to work. The need to share resources, knowledge and technology. To work collectively as opposed to working for individual gain, i.e. economic individualism. To protect society from corruption, criminal activity, backwardness, eroded social consciousness, class discrimination and the hunger for power, control, abuse and greed.

Working class values

Working class values dictates an alternative mind set free of individualism, wastage, greed and excessive wealth accumulation. The essence of worker values is to denounce ***all*** form of discrimination between people. Marxism, Leninism and

Trotskyism, should not be confounded with the ‘dictatorship’ and ‘communist’ purges of Stalin, Mao Zedong, Mussolini, Pinochet, Pol Pot, Franco, Milosevic, *et al.* Literal and crude interpretations of Leninism ‘as Stalinism’, have been promoted by capitalists to discredit socialism. Only when one read the works of Lenin *et al.* can one detect the ethics and morality of socialism. Historical and material conditions dictate the need for a socialist system. Working class values bears direct antithesis to the capitalist values of poverty generation, discrimination, exploitation, war for profit and unleashing inhumane suffering on weaker nations. Working class values aim to entrench collective and non-discriminatory values, social supremacy, social peace and advancing egalitarian social relations.